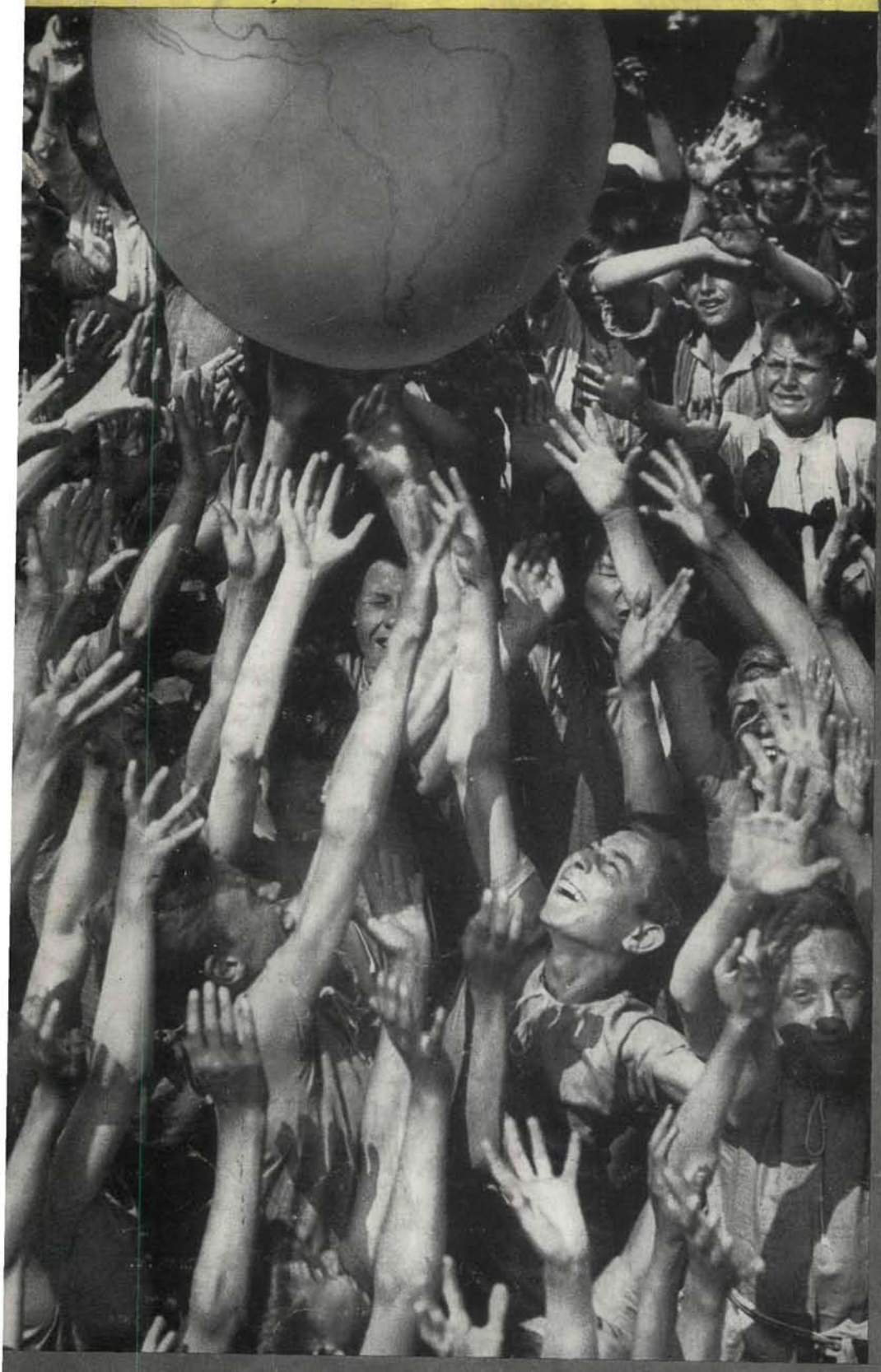
FREE WORLD

OCTOBER 1945



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PHOT. MARTIN MUNKACSI

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A CHIEF JUSTICE' OWN STORY AS UNDERGROUNI LEADER

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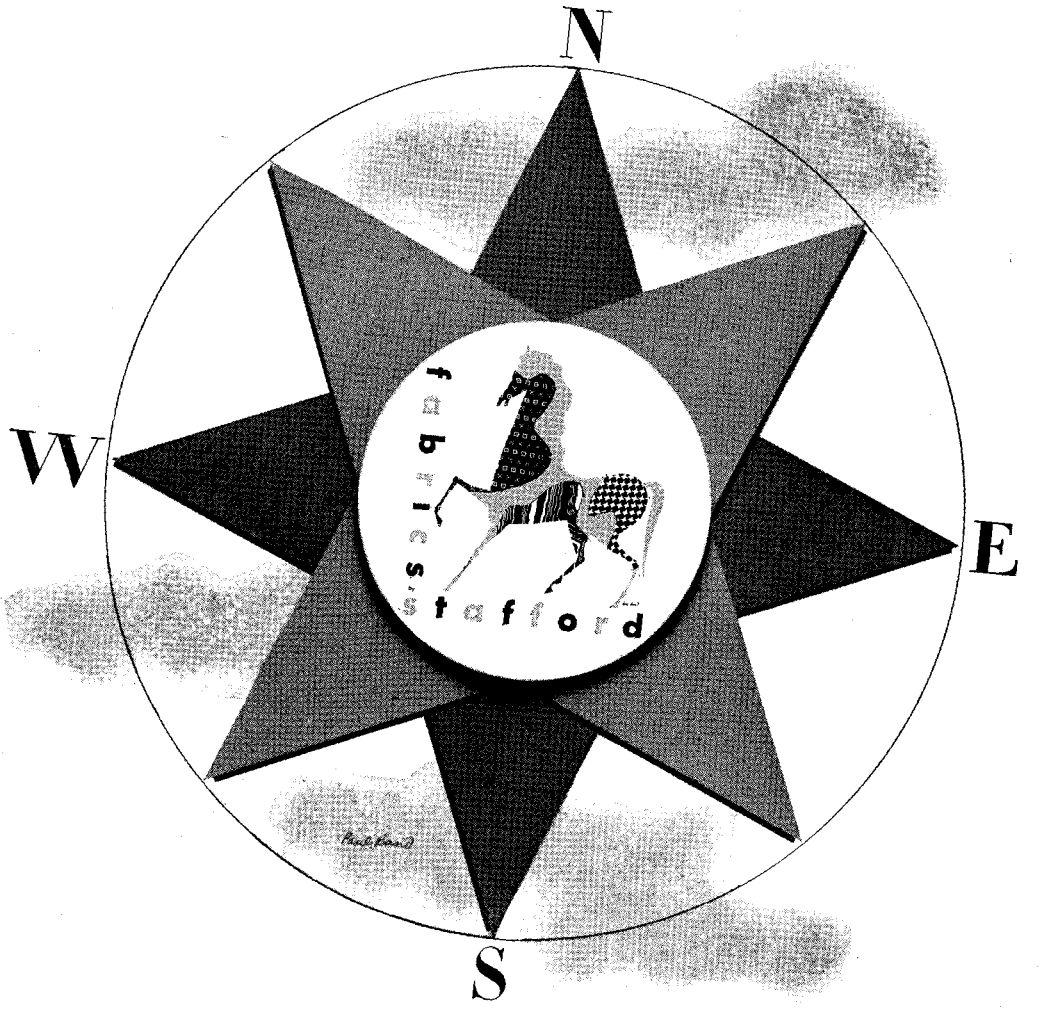
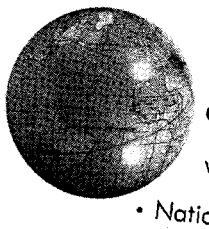


a peacetime  **course . . .** Soon the pulse of peace-time traffic will throb over the airlanes and sea ways of a free world. • Nation will talk to nation in the universal language of the Arts. Good design will flourish again . . . and be respected anew. • And off to world-wide conquest strides the Stafford Stallion. symbol of those brilliant fabrics that are woven in Pennsylvania and printed in the little Connecticut town for which Stafford Fabrics are named . . . Stafford Fabrics . . . fabrics with a pedigree.

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The State of the World...

OCTOBER 1945

FREE WORLD HAZARDS THESE INFORMED GUESSES

1. Great Britain will soon call a conference of all the member states of the British Commonwealth to consider the transformation of some colonies into dominions.

2. The new French Constitution will provide a federal system for the French Empire.

3. The first United Nations Assembly will be under strong pressure to consider a revision of the Charter with a view toward world government.

4. The Scandinavian countries will, by reciprocal agreements, remove most of the curbs and restrictions affecting their respective nationals in such matters as passports, working and trade permits and other discriminatory regulations.

5. The remaining Latin American dictators will face a new wave of democratic revolutions.

LABOR DIPLOMACY — WASHINGTON:

Labor attaches in the various United States embassies will have much more importance in the near future, and their rank will be equal to that of commercial attaches. Secretary of State Byrnes has asked Labor Secretary Schwellenbach to reorganize the whole system of appointments which now operate through the State Department on recommendations of the Labor Department. The aim of the new policy is to provide a staff of labor attaches better equipped to deal with various labor viewpoints throughout the world.

TREATMENT OF JEWS STILL DISGRACE — PARIS:

The situation of the surviving Jews in Europe, despite all promises, is still tragic. Democratic opinion all over Europe is revolted at the failure of the United Nations governments to take drastic measures to save the comparatively few who have escaped. Dissatisfaction with the British government for not opening wide the doors of Palestine is everywhere expressed.

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Anti-semitic elements started a whispering campaign saying that the Allies are in no hurry to wipe out the vestiges of fascism.

PROGRESS IN PERU — LIMA:

The coalition, known as the Democratic Front, which won a dramatic victory here in the general elections in June under the leadership or Dr. Jose Luis Bustamante Rivero, a distinguished diplomat with a non-partisan background, and Victor Raul Haya de la Torre, head of the People's Party (APRA), is making rapid strides toward its goal of "Bread and Liberty."

The success, perhaps for the first time in Peruvian history, of a truly democratic movement, is the handwriting on the wall for such Latin American totalitarian dictators as Colonel Peron in Argentina and Generalissimo Trujillo in the Dominican Republic. The fact that the Democratic Front is a coalition of diverse political forces extending from the conservative Right to the radical Left, coming from all social classes and professional groups of Peru, is an indication that democracy and liberty are at last on the march in this country. People here see a genuine kinship between the electoral victory of the Democratic Front and that of the Labor Party in Great Britain. While the present British Government has food shortage problems confronting it, President Rivero's government struggles to raise the standard of living of the Peruvian people above the mere subsistence levels they endured for generations.

HUNGER FOR LEARNING UNDYING — OSLO:

In liberated Norway the number of students applying for admission at Oslo University and other institutions of advanced education is larger than ever before in that country's history. More than 3,000 students had to be turned down due to the lack of facilities.

FREEDOM OF TRAVEL — COPENHAGEN:

The Scandinavian countries, which have so often in the past given examples in democratic behavior, are once more pointing the way. Swedes, Norwegians and Danes now

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are able to travel between their respective countries without visas. Passports will be required only for visits extending beyond a period of three months.

LABOR PROTECTION IN FRENCH COLONIES CASABLANCA:

The French Ministry of Colonies has established a new Labor Code for French Africa, based on the principle of freedom of choice in jobs, equal pay for equal work, pensions and minimum wages. To protect the worker, no contract between him and an employer may exceed a two-year period. The new law provides many other important improvements for the protection of native workers.

''THE BATTLE OF THE GENERALS'' RIO DE JANEIRO:

Brigadier General Eduardo Gomes, former chief of the Brazilian Air Forces, and General Eurico Dutra, Minister of Defense and former head of the Brazilian equivalent of the OWI, are the leading candidates in the current political campaign. General Gomes heads the National Democratic Union—a coalition of democratic forces—and General Dutra is supported by some of the elements of the administration who call themselves a ''Social Democratic Party.'' The big question in this political campaign is: ''Will Dictator-President Getulio Vargas consent to be 'drafted' just before the elections?'' Last minute surprises are always possible under Vargas.

PARIS:
INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS OF WOMEN IN PARIS

An international convention of women from sixteen countries is scheduled for November 26 in Paris. The basic objective of the congress is outlined by the organizing committee as follows: ''Opportunity to build a home and raise children, equal pay for equal work, free access to all types of employment without discrimination, and equality of the sexes before the law.'' Mme. Cotton, the French scientist and one of the members of the organizing committee, declared that the aim of the meeting will be to destroy the vestiges of fascism and to give women everywhere full rights. English, French, Russian and Spanish will be the official languages at this convention.

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world economic news:

international trade still crippled

New York—Our correspondents from all over Europe inform us that the weakest link among the various United Nations countries is the economic exchange. In the absence of an over-all plan, or of any economic agency of the United Nations, international trade is almost at a standstill. Very few American business firms have dispatched agents to Europe, and those who have done so insist on cash payments, or at best short term credits, which make international transactions almost impossible. Monetary restrictions and inflationary tendencies are additional difficulties. The only country whose business is pretty well represented in Europe is England, but for the time being it cannot do much more than to function as an intermediary between European and American markets.

It is of vital importance that a United Nations economic conference meet as quickly as possible in order to start the goods rolling. Without quick action there is danger of further starvation in Europe and of unemployment in the "have" areas.

uranium deposits in czechoslovakia

Prague—Near the Czechoslovakian village of Jachymov (Joachimstal) lies one of the world's three major uranium sources. Until recently these mines have been exploited for the purpose of extracting radium from the uranium ores. With the development of the atomic bomb the ore deposits of Jachymov assume a new importance. The mines of this village are the oldest known radium-bearing mines in the world.

Mining concessions prior to 1914 were in British hands. After the foundation of the Czechoslovakian Republic the mines were nationalized but the major part of their production was exported to Great Britain. Compared with the uranium deposits of the Belgian Congo and Canada, the mining facilities of Jachymov are generally considered less favorable. The yearly radium production capacity in the 1930's was 8 grams. The number of miners, mostly Sudeten Germans, was 500. The total radium content of the mines was estimated at about 300 grams. In terms of uranium metal, one gram of radium can be isolated out of one-half ton of uranium metal. Thus the amount of pure uranium in the mines can be calculated, as of 1935, to have been 150 tons.

During World War II Germany showed a keen interest in the

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uranium deposits of this little village. The Jachymov foundry and chemical plant were transferred to Germany immediately after Munich. Following the liberation of Czechoslovakia, seven tons of mined uranium ore were found stockpiled near the mines. In May 1945 the nazis attempted to carry out widespread acts of sabotage in the mines. A Czechoslovak miner suppressed this attempt with the help of Czech patriots.

With the collaboration of Russian chemical experts it may be expected that uranium production in that area will soon reach or exceed pre-war levels.

did wall street know the secret?

New York—On Monday morning, July 16, 1945, American scientists, in an experiment which has been called the best kept secret of the war, tested in the desert of New Mexico the destructive potentialities of the atomic bomb. At 10 o'clock of the same day Wall Street opened with fairly steady prices.

On that day nobody was supposed to know that by 12 o'clock the scientists in the desert, after a first glimpse of the result of the atomic bomb, had convinced themselves that their invention would make the end of the war with Japan a question of months, even weeks.

By 2:30 p.m. of this historic Monday, bonds and stocks in Wall Street had suddenly suffered a sharp decline, ranging from fractions to around 2 points or more.

On July 17, peace rumors had spread throughout Wall Street, in the words of the "New York Times" financial commentator, "with such telling effect that the stock market plunged to the lowest level in three months. . . . In one of the widest breaks of the year," he continued, "prices were reduced 1 to 5 points."

The "Wall Street Journal" on July 18, in its "Abreast of the Market" article for the preceding day, stated: "On reports in Wall Street that the Pacific war might end earlier than expected, stocks were heavily sold. The liquidation carried leading stocks down from 1 to more than 3 points."

On July 18, setbacks on the stock and bond market continued.

Could there possibly be a link between the explosion in the New Mexico desert and the ticker on Wall Street?

export controls regrouped

Washington—The Current Export Bulletin No. 276, on September 11, announced a revision and relaxation of United States export controls. A number of countries have been accepted in Group K

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and thus will obtain the benefit of the most liberal trade policy now pursued by the United States.

These countries are Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey. Spain and Argentina are in Group E, which excludes them from receiving American commodities under a general license system. On the same footing with these two fascist states are Austria, Bulgaria, Hungary, Romania, Italy and Korea, whereas other liberated countries, including Finland and Poland, are in Group K. No provision has as yet been made for exports to Germany or Japan.

140 billion dollar russian war damage

Moscow—The damage to the Soviet economy by the German invasion has been calculated by official Russian sources at 679 billion rubles, based on the 1941 price level. This represents the equivalent of nearly 140 billion American dollars at the current price level.

Not included in this calculation are the losses in national income due to the interruption of productive work, and food and supplies confiscated by the German Army, the war expenditures of the U.S.S.R. The 679 billion rubles damage is described by the Russians as "basic property destruction" only. The total destruction may well be far above one trillion rubles.

The compilation of damage affecting over seven million workers and farmers, was evaluated by Russia's foremost statistical experts.

the expropriation of the junker estates

Berlin—The expropriation of the Junker estates has progressed rapidly during the last few weeks, and it is now virtually complete in the Russian zone of occupation.

Contrary to widespread belief, this reform is not communist-inspired, but is economic in its inspiration, bourgeois in character and democratic in effect. Millions of Germans from the eastern provinces are streaming forward to the areas which presumably will remain German. By settling them as free farmers on the former Junker estates, the following results will be obtained:

1. The partial solution of the internal migration problem created by Hitler's defeat.
2. The creation of a strong German peasantry, the very existence of which is based on the social destruction of the Junkers.
3. A more intensive cultivation of the German land east of the Elbe.

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FREE WORLD OCTOBER 1945

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COVER PHOTO by Martin Munkacsi.

WE MUST NOT RELAX NOW

The same people who relaxed when fascism came into power, when Manchuria, Ethiopia and Spain were invaded, when Czechoslovakia was betrayed, now suggest loudly that the time has come to take a rest again. We believe, on the contrary, that this is the time for every citizen to make a supreme effort to achieve a durable peace. This is a time for meetings, round-table gatherings, for neighborhood groups to discuss the means of strengthening world cooperation in order to secure the freedoms and the economic prosperity for which this war has been fought. Look at the story on page 65 by

PAAL BERG

Lord Chief Justice of Norway, who was the first man of such high office to have assumed the dangerous functions of heading the underground against the nazis.

Read the penetrating analysis on page 29 by

OSCAR COX

who, as deputy director of the Foreign Economic Administration and as a participant in the Potsdam Conference, authoritatively points out that this is the time for putting world cooperation into effect if starvation in Europe and unemployment in the United States are to be forestalled.

Look at our picture section on page 9

FASCISM ON TRIAL

also read on page 47 Max Mandellaub's story and you will realize how great the fascist menace still is. We are for relaxation, but not of the short-lived, self-indulgent variety that helped fascism into power. For STIMULATING RELAXATION read:

Arnold Sundgaard
Heinz Liepman
Helveticus
Travel Department

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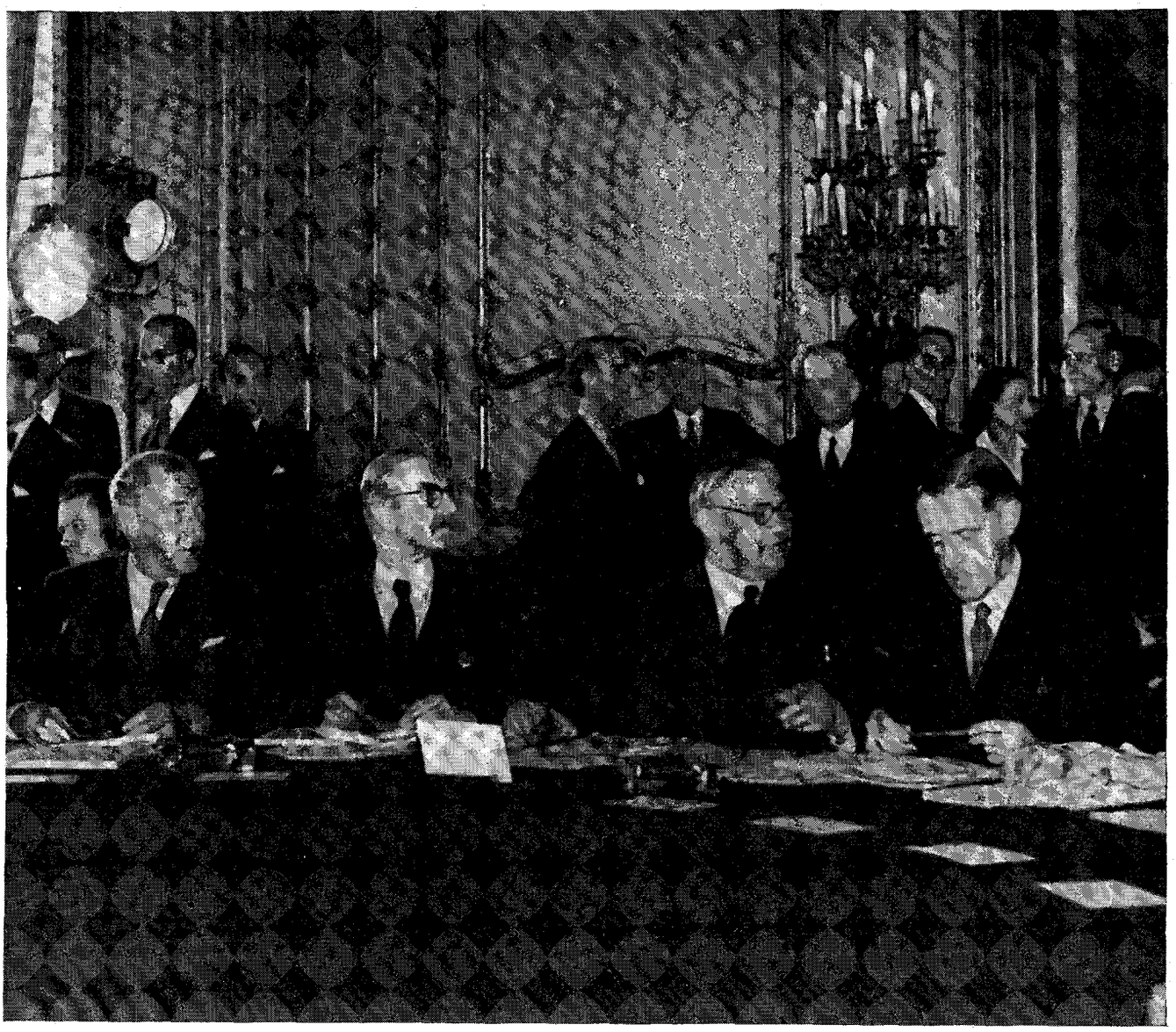
THE MAKING OF WORLD PEACE

Exclusive pictures for FREE WORLD from the temporary capital of the world, LONDON



The First Session of the Council of the Foreign Ministers of the Big Five:

The British delegation. If it weren't for Foreign Minister Bevin (center), the delegation would still look as it did in the old times when the Conservative Party was in power. For a full view see the next pages. From left to right: Sir A. Clark Kerr, Sir R. Campbell, Ernest Bevin and Mr. A. Duff Cooper.

Two meetings of historic importance were taking place in London:

A. The Council of Foreign Ministers of the Big Five, whose task it is to liquidate World War II and to prepare the Peace Conference;

B. The Executive Committee of the United Nations Organization, whose task it is to prepare the functioning of the new world organization according to the San Francisco Charter, and to pave the way for the first General Assembly. (See "London Letter" by Mary Seaton, page 83.)

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Exclusive Free World Photo by Jarché. Illustrated ★

Full session of the Council of the Forei

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Ministers of the Big Five

In the extreme left corner is Georges Bidault, French Minister of Foreign Affairs and Honorary President of the French Resistance Council, assisted by a staff of experts and translaters. Sixth from the left is jovial Ernest Bevin, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, who is the first trade union leader to occupy such high office. His advisers are still conservatives—from left to right, Sir Archibald Clark Kerr, Sir R. Campbell and Mr. A. Duff Cooper. To the right follow the Russian members with Molotov and the Chinese representatives. With their backs to the camera: the American group, Secretary of State Byrnes in the center foreground.

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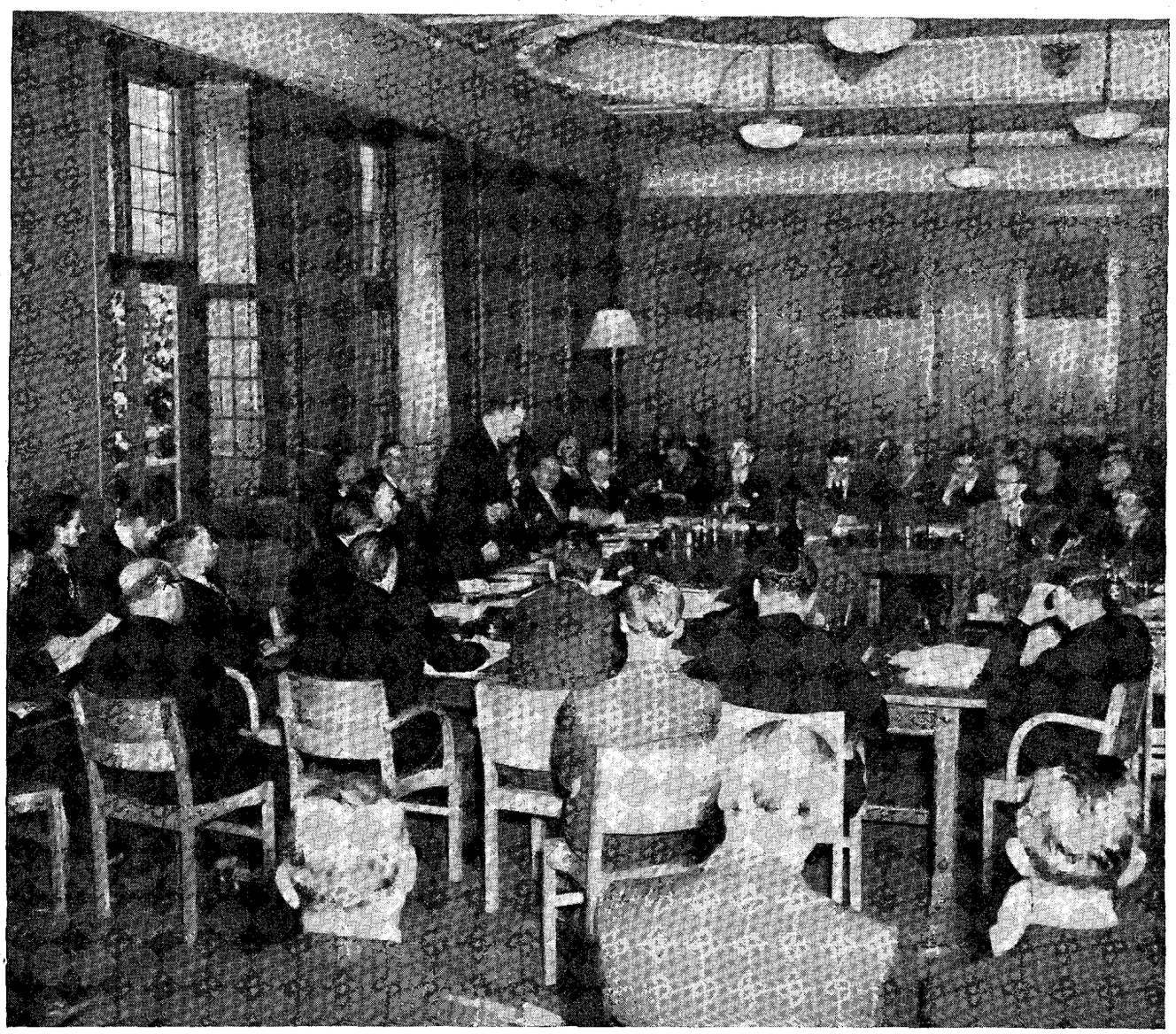

The Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Organization

This is a full session of the Preparatory Commission of the United Nations Organization at Church House, Westminster, London, Mr. Philip Noel-Baker, Secretary of State for Great Britain, and one of the most brilliant internationalists of the Labor Party, is presiding. He is shown here in the center, speaking. At the extreme left is Dr. Wellington Koo, Chinese Ambassador to Britain, who had already acquired fame in the old League of Nations. He does not belong to any Chinese party, and is conservatively inclined. At the far end of the main table are Lincolnesque John G. Winant, Ambassador of the U.S.A., and Ambassador Gromyko of the U.S.S.R., who seems to have taken Mr. Litvinov's place at international conferences.

Phot. Illustrated ★

A government that will be absent from London but which—for Democracy's sake—should be recognized as the Spanish government-in-exile. From left to right: José Giral, Prime Minister, Rafael Fuemas, Secretary of Foreign Relations, Martinez Barrio, President of 4th Republic, De Bonito, Secretary of Counsel of Ministers, Fernandez de los Rios, Secretary of State, Aginer de los Rios, Secretary of the Presidency, Alvaro Albramos, Secretary of Justice. While it is most regretful that the powerful personalities of Dr. Negrin and his associates are absent, this government has been appointed by President Barrio and is the only legal government of Spain—now in Mexico.

Phot. Doris Haydn ★

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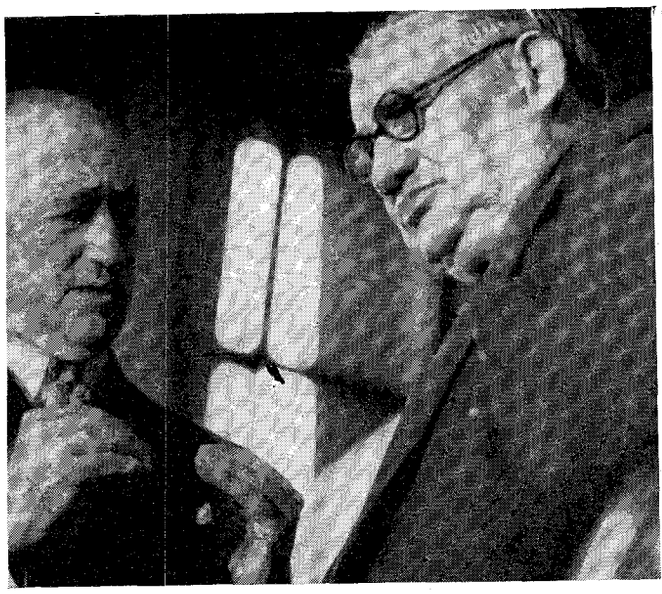
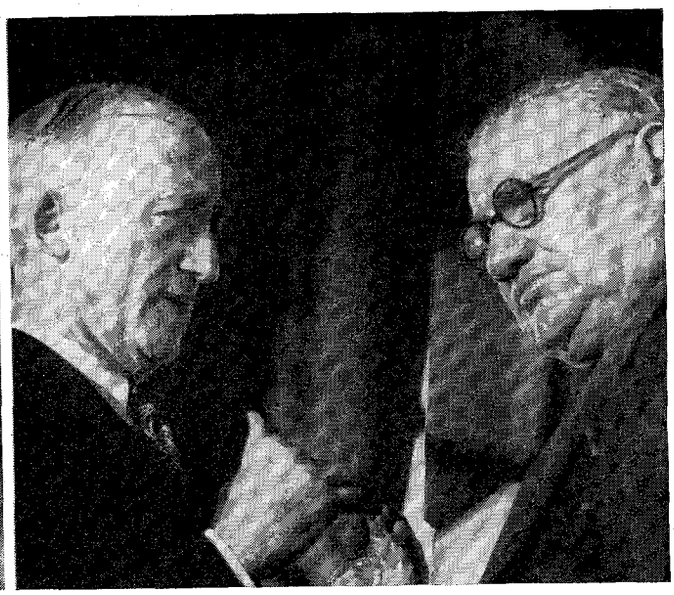
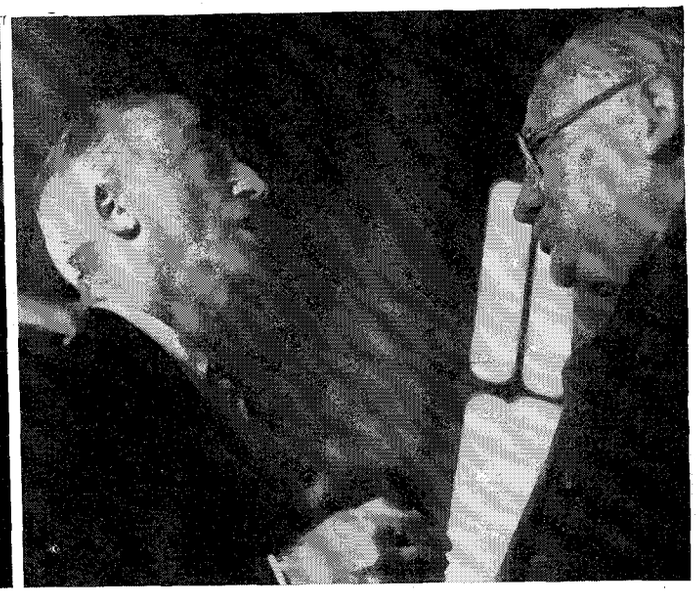




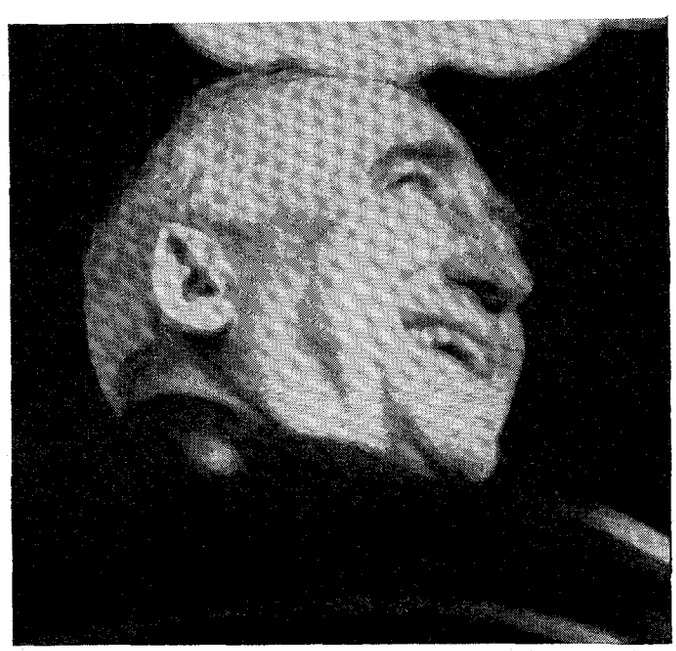


Exclusive Free World Photo by Jarché. Illustrated★

BEVIN AND BYRNES

A COMPARATIVE PHOTOGRAPHIC STUDY OF TWO TEMPERAMENTS

Two men who are seen more often than any other foreign ministers at the momentous meeting in London are U. S. Secretary of State James F. Byrnes, left, and Ernest Bevin, British Foreign Secretary, right. It is interesting to compare the liveliness of the American, which is in sharp contrast to the imperturbability of the Briton.



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Like San Francisco five months ago, London today is excited about the arrival of prominent diplomatic representatives from all over the world. Wang Shih Chieh, Foreign Minister of China (in the center with a broad victory smile) is being greeted by Sir Alexander Cadogan, permanent Under Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Great Britain, and Dr. Wellington Koo, Chinese Ambassador.

EXCLUSIVE
FREE WORLD PHOTOS
E. AUERBACH
ILLUSTRATED

★

Mr. Molotov, a few seconds before starting to speak. He is carefully weighing the words he is going to say.

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Hitler—here shown in court in 1923—declared in a self-effacing voice that the National Socialist Party aimed only at the elimination of injustices wrought by the Versailles treaty, the Jews and the Marxists, and that its Storm Troopers had the sole task of protecting the individual nazi against communist violence. Had the democratic forces at that time detected the real nature of nazism, millions of human beings would still be alive today.

Phot. Black Star

FASCISM ON TRIAL

One would have expected that fascists in America, England, France and other countries, looking at the millions of dead, tortured and crippled, looking at the destruction and starvation of a great part of humanity—all consequences of nazism—would by now give up their hateful theories. Well, they haven't. Therefore:

FREE WORLD

on the eve of the trials of the top nazis in Nuremberg, draws the attention of every democratic nation and individual citizen in the world to the fact that fascism, even under new names and slogans, will, if permitted to survive, have the same results.

READER: Whenever and wherever you may encounter a fascist, show him the pictures on the following ten pages of nazi crimes and torture. It is easy to recognize a fascist by the following characteristics: (1) Chauvinistic superiority complex; (2) Racial superiority complex; (3) Hatred of democratic processes; (4) Hatred of the Allies; (5) Opposition to organized labor; (6) Opposition to international cooperation; (7) Cynicism, cruelty, lies and sadism; (8) Ultra-militarism and ultra-imperialism; (9) Mystical theories of "blood, soil, etc.," instead of scientific facts.

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The nazis, having set race against race, created the ridiculous notions of supermen, Aryan superiority, etc. *Phot. INS*

Now that the top nazi leaders have behaved so lamentably, how can anyone continue to believe in such absurd nonsense?

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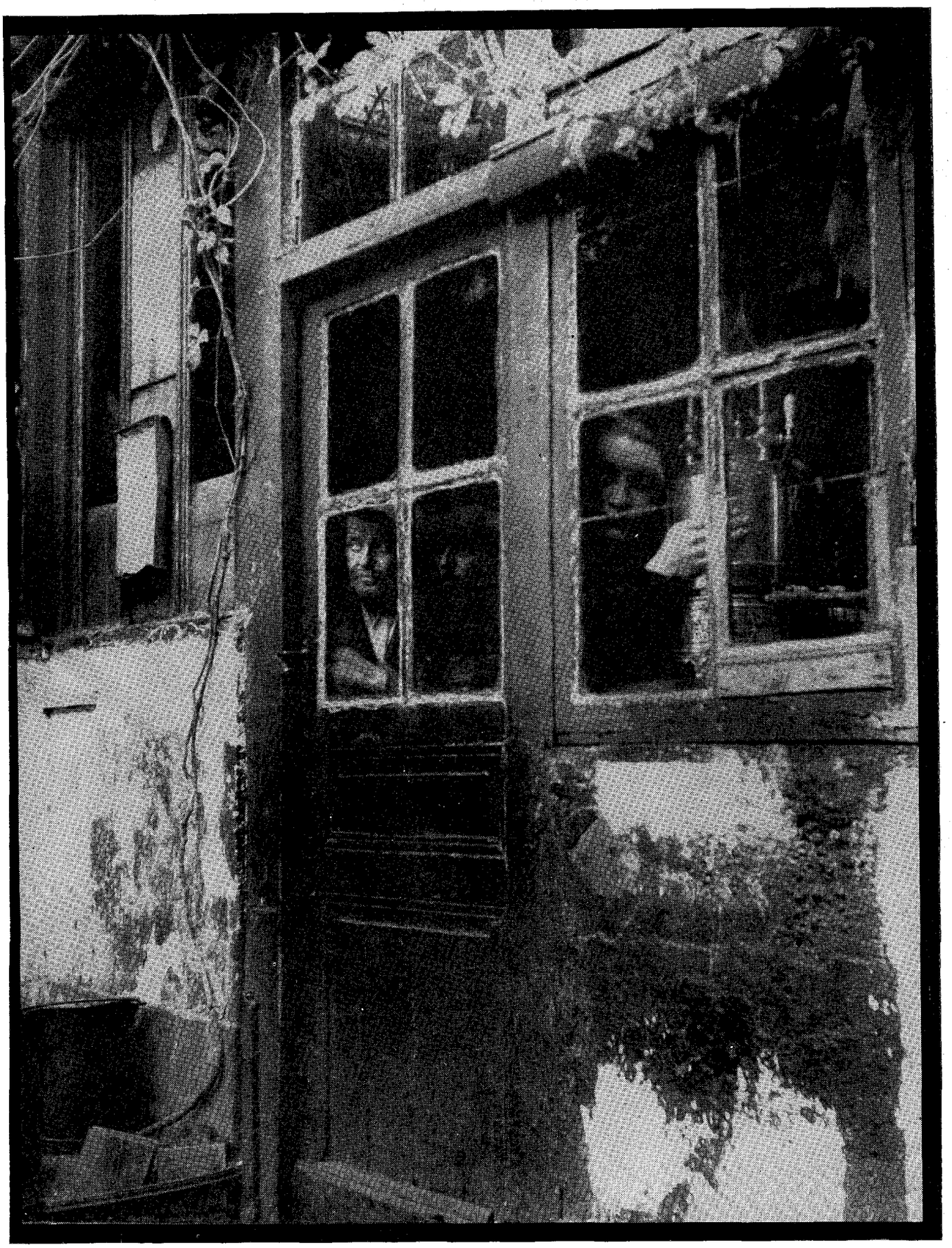

The nazis were killing the spirit of human kindness. They filled the world with suspicion, set neighbor against neighbor, child against father.

Do fascists in the United Nations realize that this would happen in their countries, too, if they were to triumph?

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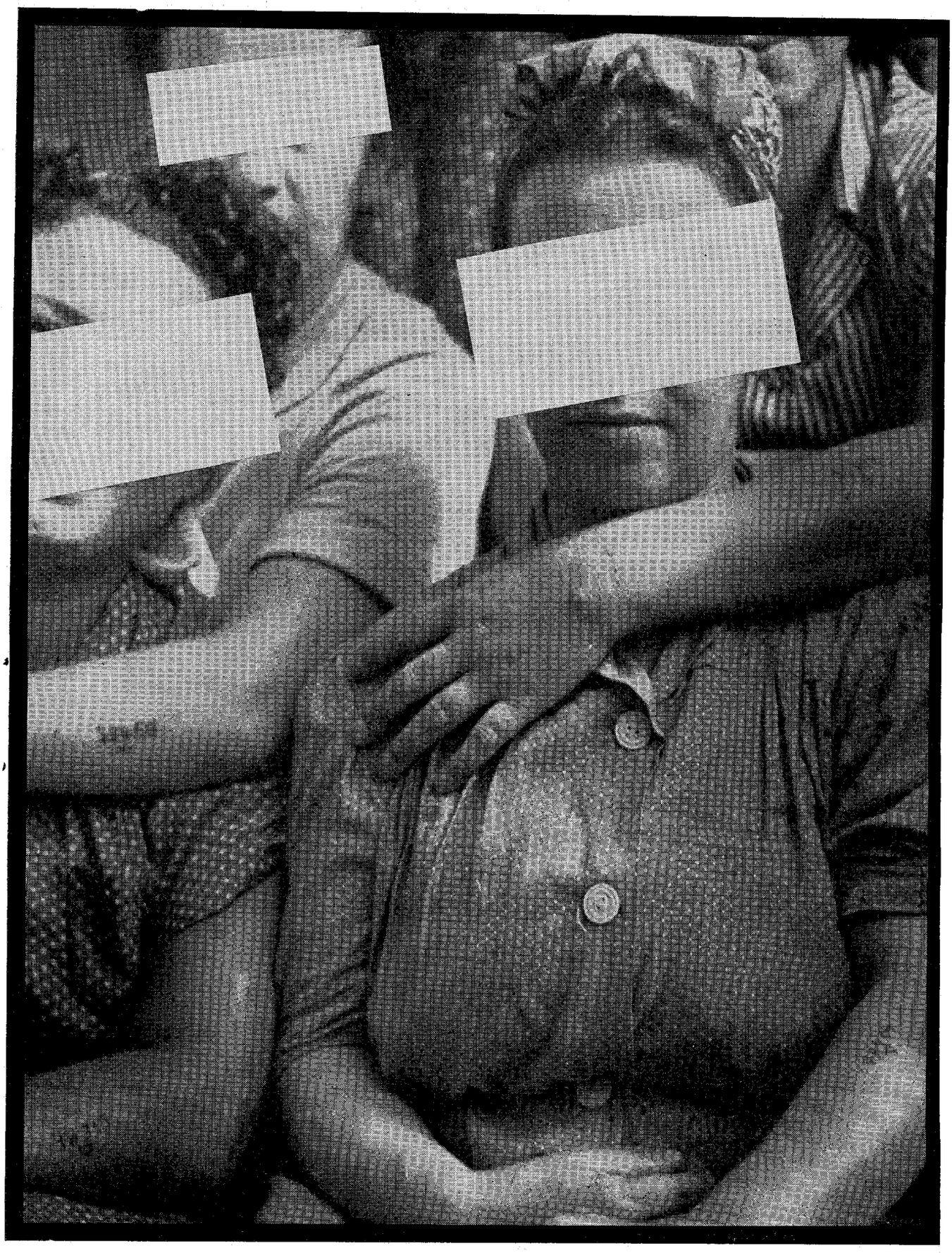

Brutality beyond belief:

Former prisoners freed from German concentration camps and now recovering in Sweden show their prison numbers, tattooed on their arms—a lifelong reminder of nazism.

Phot. Strindberg ★

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The nazis made slaves of free human beings and destroyed the achievements of a two-thousand years' fight for the dignity of man.

How do some citizens of the United Nations still dare to support fascist activities?

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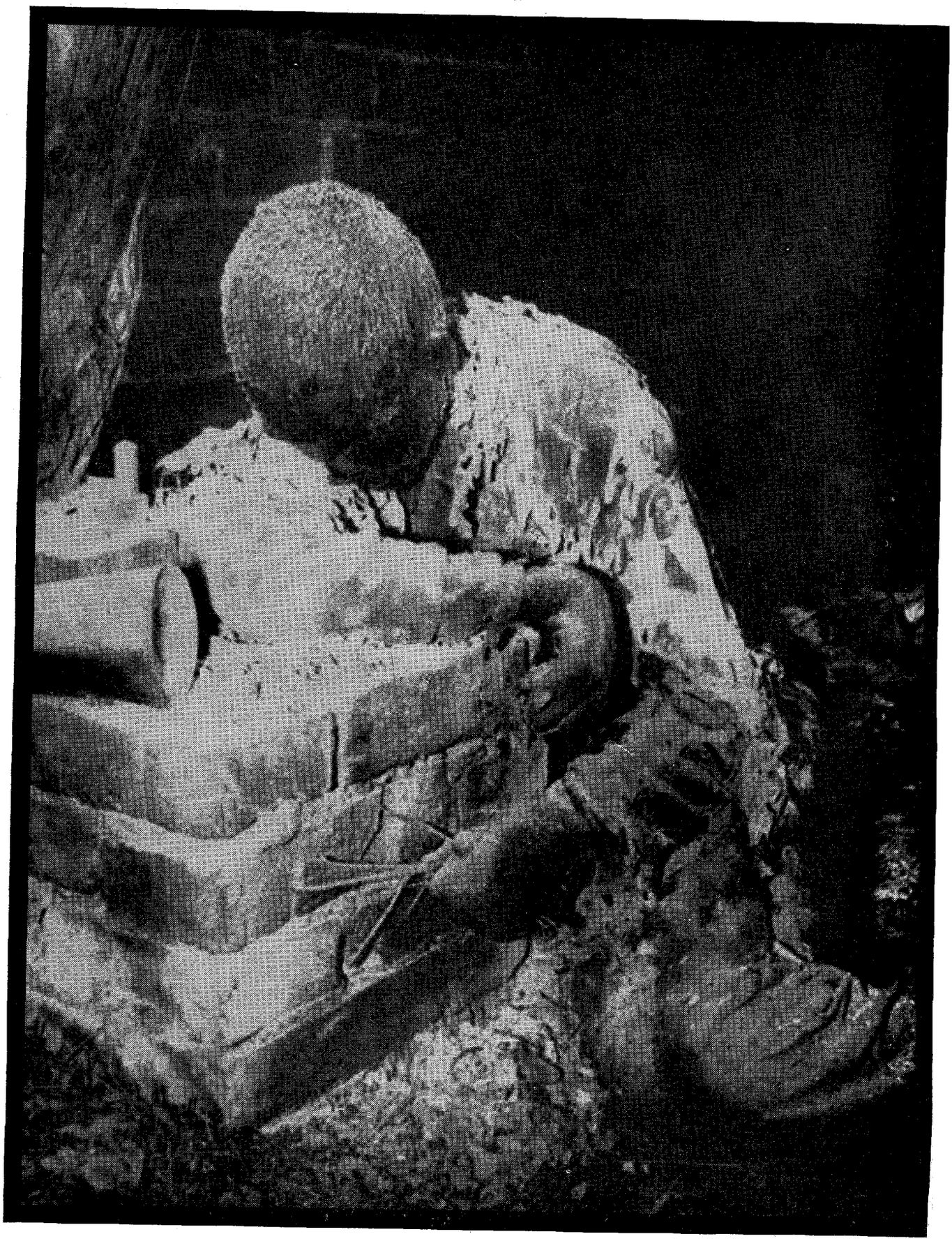

The body of a man burned by Germans at the infamous Belsen concentration camp.

Shall fascists continue to benefit by the privileges of democratic freedoms?

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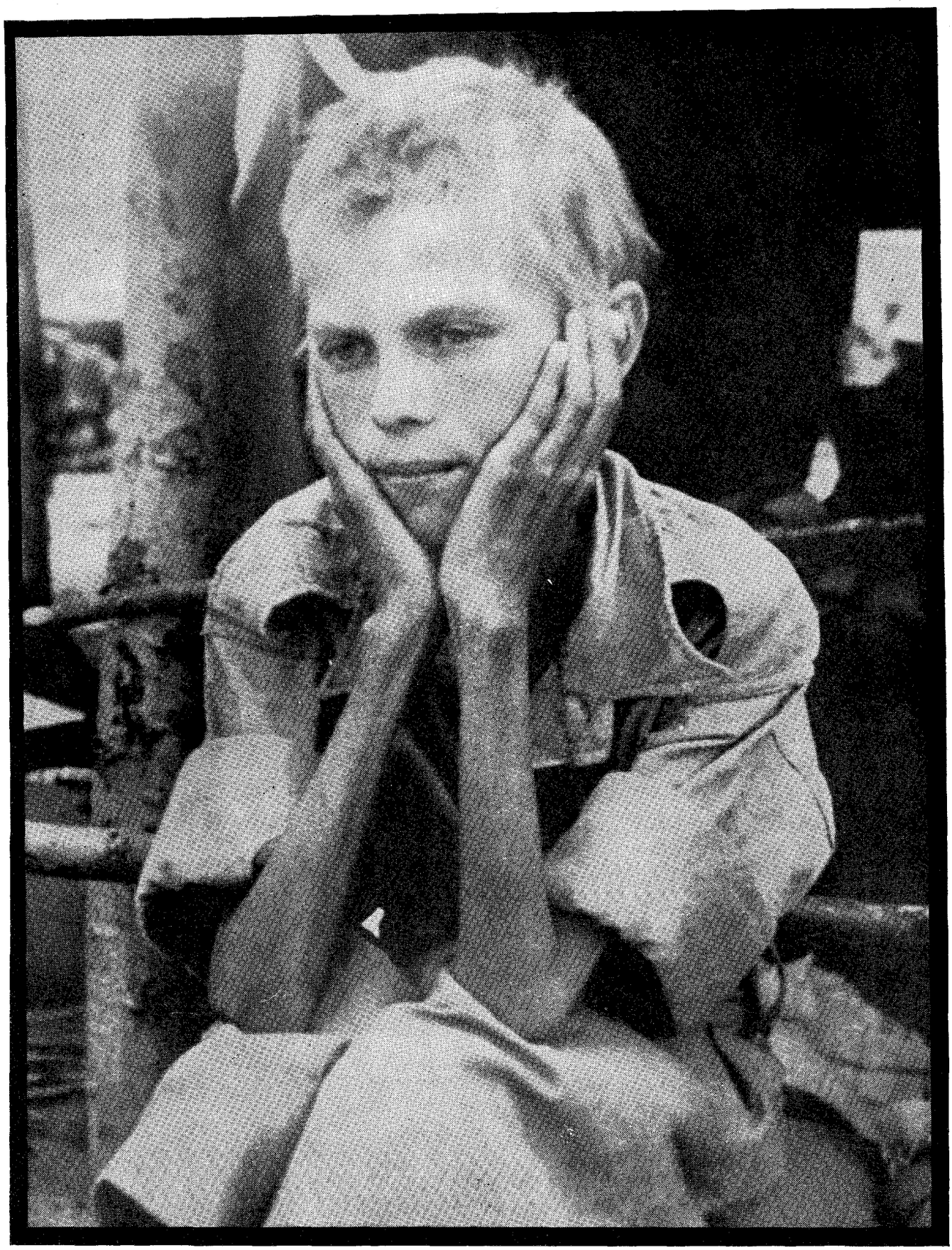

Nazis committed the worst of all crimes: crimes against children—killing them, starving their bodies, poisoning their minds, filling their memories with indescribable horror.

Can anyone still claim himself a decent human being and continue to promote fascism?

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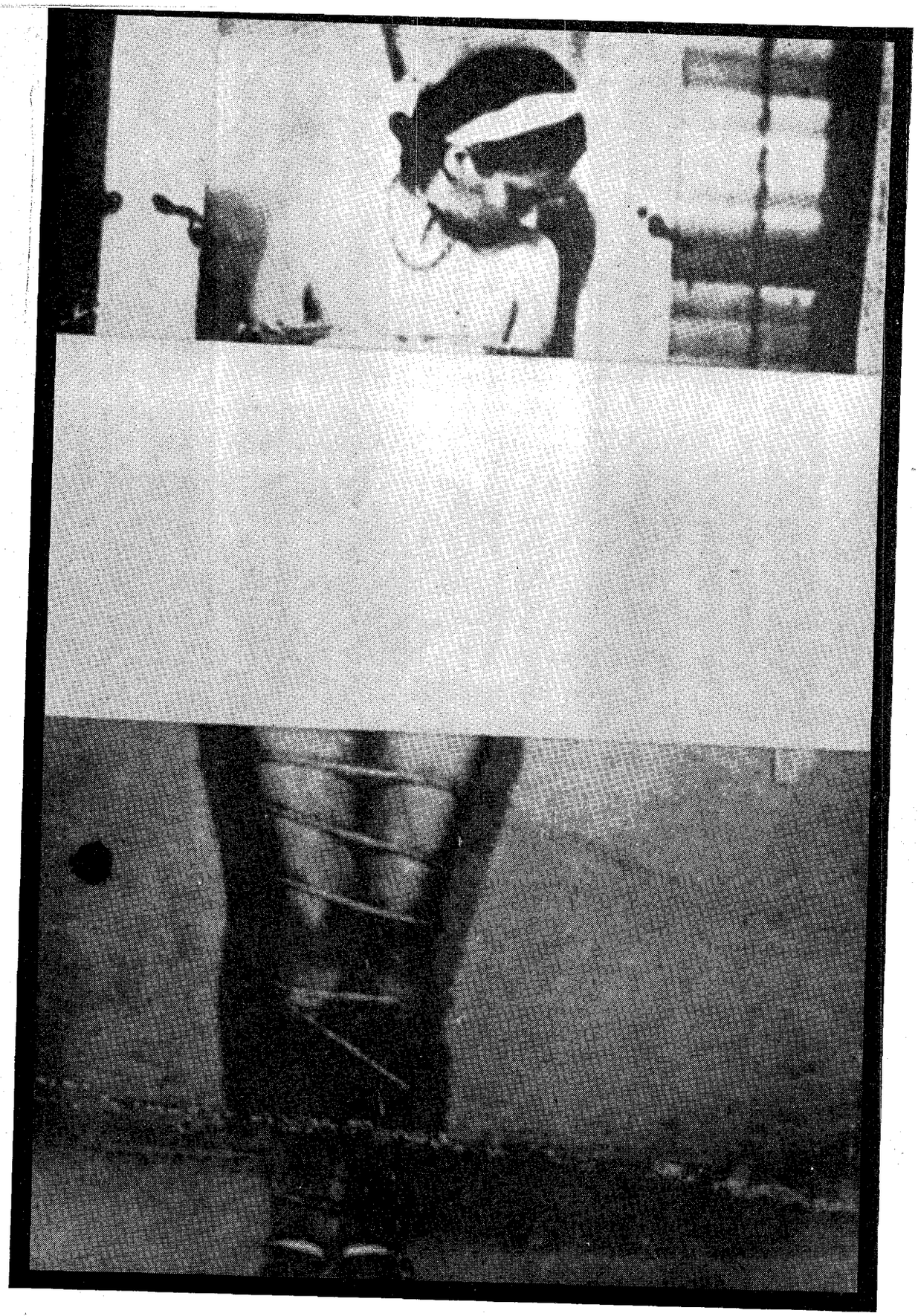

Degradation of Womanhood

This is a picture of a woman who had been raped and then tied and hanged. For the sake of decency we have covered part of the body. There were other such gruesome "pin-up" pictures found on nazi prisoners, which we saw before they were sent to the War Crimes Commission of the United Nations. They were so horrible that we couldn't print them.

FRENCH INFORMATION OFFICE

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This photocopy is taken from the original in the
Library of Congress, Washington D.C.

719

Reichsgesetzblatt

Teil I

1941	Ausgegeben zu Berlin, den 26. November 1941	Nr. 133

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Auf Gru... 15. Septem... folgendes...

Ein Auslan... sein. dann... Um... ...ngehörigkeit ... Verordnung ... im Ausland ... Verordnung. ...ufenthalt später ...er Verlegung des ...us Ausland.

The nazis made a mockery of law and justice.

Copy of the German official law register, which published whatever the nazis decreed as the "Law of the Land." The other picture shows a man who, along with millions of other innocent men, was killed under these "laws" simply because he was a Jew.

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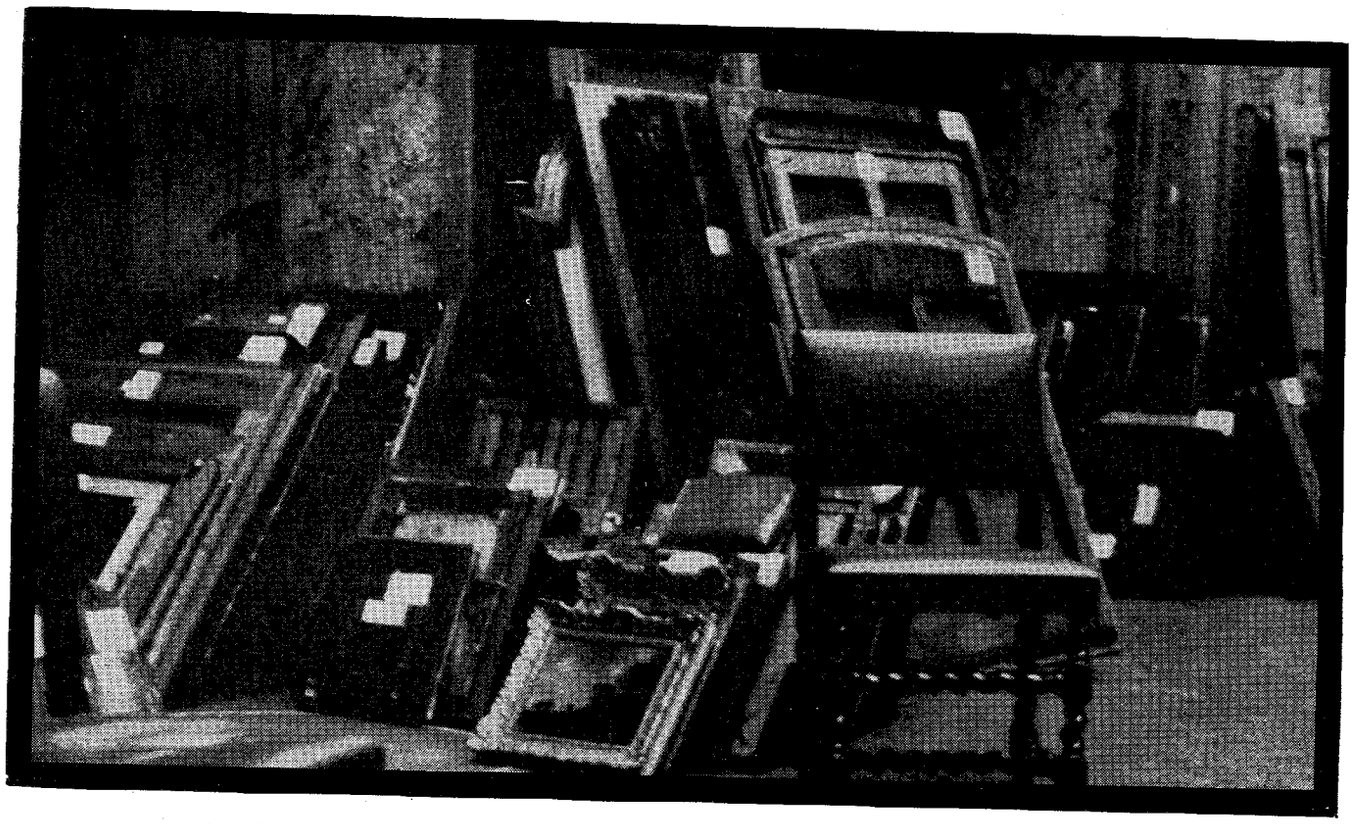

Stealing, looting, blackmailing—this was a daily occurrence in the nazi Reich. This is one of the innumerable caches of stolen art works.
NIB . . . UNIO

MAY THE WORLD NEVER FORGET

that millions had to pay with their lives to free the world from nazism. It must continue to fight, with soul and body, against those who want to try fascism again in other countries.

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WORLD GOVERNMENT vs: NATIONAL SOVEREIGNTY

New York Leads Intellectual Revolution

AN EDITORIAL BY LOUIS DOLIVET

TO judge by the behavior of various governments represented at the executive committee of the United Nations Organization and at the meeting of the foreign ministers of the Big Five, one would almost gather the impression that the atomic bomb does not exist at all, and that nothing had happened on the fateful day of August 6, 1945. Government representatives continue to talk the old-time language of absolute national sovereignty, of spheres of interest, of non-intervention in internal affairs, of "vital life lines," and other traditional security concepts which have become simple nonsense in this atomic age of ours.

GOVERNMENT routine is so deeply entrenched, and high officials are so much taken up with daily administrative matters, that this most revolutionary invention of all time has resulted as yet in nothing more than vague, pious references to the new age. The United States still thinks, as in the pre-atomic age, about the 2,500,000 minimum peacetime army; England is concerned with its age-old protection of vital lifelines; in the French Cabinet, there has been a near crisis because the Finance Minister quarreled with the War Minister over a proposed reduction of the very poorly equipped armed forces of France; in Belgrade, at a parade recently, the sight of a few heavy tanks provoked almost hysterical applause by the crowds; Russia still sees the danger of the Cordon Sanitaire, as in the 20's; and soon the Ethiopians will rejoice wildly over the appearance in the streets of Addis Ababa of a few armored cars proudly displaying the banner of the Lion of Judea.

True, many governments are thinking of putting more money into scientific research so that "we, too, may have our atomic bombs as the Americans do," but the educational budgets are still the lowest of government expenses everywhere, despite the fact that it is now well established that the scientific development of a country increases proportionately with the general educational level.

AS far as the secret itself of the atomic bomb is concerned, there again only the most classical solutions are suggested both in the "have" and the "have not" nations. In the United States, which has the secret, the suggestion is made to keep it at all costs, to punish even with death anyone who might betray it to other countries. In the other nations, which have not yet got it, it is suggested that the secret be shared with them, but these same countries would rebel at the idea of

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having an international control of armaments and armies. It is the same old story of short-sighted selfishness. Soon the nationalists in different countries will launch a slightly modified formula of Mr. Goering's famous absurd statement: "guns are better than butter." This new slogan, in order to show some originality and to avoid the reproach of having copied a nazi formula, will probably read something like: "atoms are better than steaks."

THE ridiculous thing about this whole discussion is that there is no secret at all involved in the new discovery, and that in the very foreseeable period of three to five years many countries will be able to produce atomic bombs and energy.

And then what?

Then the pseudo-realist answers, "Then we will see what we have to do, and act accordingly." Poor man, he doesn't realize that if we haven't straightened out our world problems by then, that if national rivalries and conflicting interests continue, many unscrupulous generals and atomic-politicians (who will have replaced the geo-politicians of the Hitler era) will be found who will believe that their country has one more slight chance to survive if it starts with an all-out atomic attack against the others. This rash step will mark the beginning of the end of our world.

FORTUNATELY, this intellectual lethargy, which seems to have befallen many of the leaders of the United Nations governments still drunk with victory, does not extend to every strata of public opinion. The number of men and women in all classes of society who are seriously thinking about the tragic results which our humanity might suffer if we don't apply the lessons of World War II, and if we don't evaluate correctly the consequences of the atomic bomb, is increasing constantly. These people are convinced there is no time left for half-measures in the field of world organization provided by the present United Nations structure. They clamor for immediate steps toward some kind of world union.

THIS new current universalistic thinking, which has its roots in the Wilsonian-Rooseveltian-Willkie philosophy, but which goes much further, is gathering momentum. The trend is radically different from any previous concept of international organization. The break with the dogma of national sovereignty is complete—this is the beginning of an intellectual revolution for world government. For the time being, this new tendency is still in the formative stage. The program and the strategy, apart from the general principle of world government, are vague, but one can safely predict that within a short time the world will be presented with a new dynamic political theory—perhaps even a new world party.

Usually it is difficult to determine the exact geographical center—the country or city—where a given intellectual movement has started. But, in this particular case, it is relatively easy to establish the main source of inspiration. It is New York.

NEW YORKERS usually don't like to be identified as the inspirers of anything that constitutes so radical a change (they always hope the Middle West will start something), but in this case they must accept parenthood, and they can be proud

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of it. After all, no city in the world is better equipped to start a new world movement. The biggest and one of the best administered cities on earth, its inhabitants have come from every corner of the globe and include all nationalities and all so-called races. It is, as Georges Bidault, the French Foreign Minister, called it at a recent small gathering, "a world in itself." New York is the living proof that men of all origins can exist together peacefully; it is the city that, relative to the scale and composition of its population, has the least number of racial incidents. It is the city that proves in its everyday life that the world can be one.

IT is natural, then, to find that the new world movement growing out of New York is truly non-partisan, that it reaches into all layers of society: business, labor, education, arts, sciences, radio, journalism—and yes, even into the normally conservative legal fraternity. In the past few weeks many New York City groups such as Americans United for World Organization, the Commission to Study the Organization of Peace, the various World Federalist movements and the Union for Democratic Action have all become articulate. The amazing support in all classes of society which this movement has found also extends to people of various origins and religious beliefs, as can be seen in the number of letters appearing in the New York papers. The world-government idea brings together Protestants, Catholics and Jews, native Americans and men of various European extractions because its philosophical scope is a further extension of the American melting-pot concept. This new internationalism finds increasing support because its advocates realize that what they want is not a negation of their own national traditions and cultures, nor a sacrifice of their national sovereignty in favor of a super-state, but a pulling together of all national sovereignties for the common interest of humanity. From all over the country, and from around the world an encouraging echo comes back, an echo that solidifies the fascinating play of ideas which historians in later years will scrutinize and assemble in a chapter called "The Beginnings of World Government."

IT is relatively easy in our time to make out a splendid case for world government. One has only to point to the atom bomb and other evidence of scientific progress, to economic interdependence, to World Wars I and II, to what World War III would mean, and every reasonable human being will understand the need for an organized world-community with full power under the law to maintain peace.

But there is one important prerequisite of world government which everyone must fully and clearly understand before taking any further step toward the implementation of the far-reaching goal of a united humanity. This prerequisite is the liquidation of all remnants of appeasement and tolerance toward fascism. World government with fascistic regimes is impossible. Any attempt to include in a world government the fascist regimes of Franco in Spain, Peron in Argentina, and the numerous other dictators of Latin America, would wreck the whole scheme long before it could start to operate. In the same way, the people of Greece must have their democratic liberties restored. Our whole concept of imperialism must be changed. The idea of spheres of interest, such as the Balkans, Western Europe, the Near East, must be abandoned. Above all, the principles of human rights "without distinction of race, sex, language and religion" already adopted in the United Nations Charter, but far from being applied, must become an integral part of the everyday

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life of those peoples who want to have the privilege of being admitted into the world government.

It would be a dangerous illusion to believe that the fight for all these partial aspects of democracy has become superfluous and that world government would automatically solve all problems. World government cannot be better than the peoples and the individual governments that will form it. It would seem to us that the best way to fight for it is to act, in everyday life, for the elimination of those constant and common injustices which are still the plague of our humanity.

ONLY when the interdependence between the daily fight for the implementation of the democratic process everywhere in the world is undertaken — and the idea of world government is realized—can the struggle be really effective. In other words, world-citizen-consciousness must unavoidably pass through global democratic consciousness. There are no artificial leaps in history where a bad society becomes a good one simply because it combines with other societies to form a world government. Had the Axis won the war and established a world state, fascism would still be bad, and humanity would still have neither peace nor freedom.

As to the question of how to go about bringing world government nearer, this writer believes that the shortest road is via the United Nations Organization. Despite its shortcomings, the United Nations Organization is a political reality. Fifty governments have signed it, and the most important countries in the world have ratified it. The United Nations Organization provides a platform and a framework in which such far-reaching internationalism as that entailed by world government can find a readier acceptance than in the narrow atmosphere of national bickerings. If there is a strongly organized public opinion in the various United Nations which succeeds in obtaining sufficient support in the different congresses and governments, then it should be easy to reach agreement that a new United Nations conference be called with one single item on the agenda—WORLD GOVERNMENT.

AS things stand now, we are still very far from even the beginnings of world government, despite the urgent historic necessity to create it. The only way of accelerating it is by mobilizing large sectors of public opinion. This writer would venture the suggestion that any one who agrees on the absolute urgency of a new government concept for the world should try to get together all organizations in his community to form a special coordinating center for world government. It is most probable that now many groups, who have previously refused to participate in various pro-United Nations' activities or in different liberal undertakings, would come in on this one-point program, WORLD GOVERNMENT. Forward-looking people today are struck, in the same way as the old-time internationalists, by the realities following in the wake of the atom bomb.

Once these coordination centers exist by the thousands within the decisive countries of the United Nations, once they represent clearly the majority of public opinion, world government will be within the reach of humanity. Until then, the rigid maintenance of the concepts of sovereignty will still be responsible for many tears and much suffering on our earth and, if we are too late, for World War III.

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FIVE MINUTES TO TWELVE

There is little time left if the Social and Economic Council of the U. N. O. is to achieve its great potentiality

by
OSCAR
COX

Oscar Cox gives here the first clear, precise outline of the functions and possibilities of the Economic and Social Council. The author, up to a short time ago, was Deputy Administrator of the Foreign Economic Administration. A distinguished lawyer, Mr. Cox has served as Assistant to the General Counsel of the Treasury, Assistant Solicitor General and was General Counsel of the old lend-lease administration.

THE potentialities of the Economic and Social Council are as difficult of achievement as they are great. High promise is contained in the words setting up the Economic and Social Council. If these words are translated into effective action, that Council can be more important than the Security Council during the next few decades.

The underlying assumptions which will determine the workability of the Council are ancient ones and to state them is to enlarge on the obvious. But a fresh and almost naive look at them is often useful when cynicism and refinements question their validity and obscure them. War is not necessary. Human efforts can prevent war, which is man-made. The necessary conditions for the prevention of war and the preservation of peace are not mysterious and undiscoverable. The framers of the Charter, in setting forth the prime objectives in the economic and social fields, recognized the most important of these conditions: Under the Charter, the members of the United Nations Organization pledge themselves, by joint and separate action in cooperation with the Organization, to promote:

> "a. higher standards of living, full employment, and conditions of economic progress and development;
>
> "b. solutions of international economic, social, health, and related problems; and international cultural and educational cooperation; and
>
> "c. universal respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all without distinction as to race, sex, language, or religion."

Through a variety of means—based primarily on the use of knowledge and persuasion rather than on coercion or force—the Economic and Social Council can help to create these major conditions of peace. The Economic and Social Council is empowered to make or initiate studies. It may make reports and recommendations. It may call international conferences, prepare draft conventions and perform services at the request of the member nations. It may set up commissions, and it is empowered to enter into agreements with specialized agencies—such as the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations and the International Civil Aviation Organization—defining their relationship with the United Nations. Where new special international agencies —such as those in the fields of health and migration—are necessary or desirable, the Economic and Social Council may initiate negotiations for their creation. It may assist the Security Council in working out the most effective economic sanctions to try to stop a conflict from developing into military war. The Trusteeship Council may avail itself of the assistance of the Economic and Social Council to improve the conditions of life in the trusteed territories. These and other means are available to the Council to carry out its objectives.

As a general staff, the Economic and Social Council will have the opportunity of intelligently coordinating the functions of the special international agencies so that integrated action

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can be taken on the interrelated problems of removing tariff and other trade barriers, facilitating the free movement of goods, persons and information among nations, eliminating or controlling cartels, providing reasonable access to the raw materials of the world, and on the other measures necessary to improve the standard of living of the peoples of the world. If the affirmative task of preventing war is done in such an integrated manner, it may well create the conditions where the use of armed force to keep the peace is avoided or minimized.

DESPITE all of the means and powers which are available to the Economic and Social Council, the attainment of its objectives will be difficult.

The words in the Charter will be empty ones unless the members of the Economic and Social Council and its staff have first-rate ability and adequate experience. An informed will on the part of the peoples and leaders of the world will be indispensable. Great changes in our scale of values and in our political, economic and social thinking and action will also be necessary if the Council is to succeed in its work.

Unless superior men and women are selected for the Council and its staff, the work of the Council is not likely to be successful. We had, for example, men and women of top intellectual competence and experience at work on the atomic bomb, on penicillin, on radar and on the other scientific aspects of the war. We should insist on no less in the equally important tasks of keeping the peace. It will not be enough to follow the outworn experience of the past. Real quality and training for the complex tasks ahead rather than political reputation should be the primary tests for those entrusted with the important tasks of the Economic and Social Council.

There are in almost every government and almost every institution of learning, as a result of the war, men and women of superior ability who have been devoting themselves to international economic and social affairs. These people might in normal times never seek or obtain public employment. They are now available in large numbers – from the many who have been recruited or have volunteered to work in the war effort and who would prefer to continue in the public service, for the cause of peace, to the outstanding men and women from the totalitarian countries who have sought refuge in the United States and in other United Nations. Outstanding youth have been encouraged to look to public employment as a noble career—they are available for further noteworthy contributions.

Even high-quality personnel on the Economic and Social Council will not be able to make it work successfully unless they are backed up by the vigilant and sustained will of the peoples of the world. There can hardly be a better illustration of this than what happened at the San Francisco Conference. The peoples of the world were strongly convinced that everything humanly possible should be done to see to it that we did not have another war. They expressed these feelings in many ways—through letters to the delegations, to the newspapers and to their legislative representatives and through discussion groups, public meetings and the radio. The climate of opinion at San Francisco, created by the uncompromising desire of the peoples of the world for peace, was that the Conference had to succeed. The peoples would not stand for failure.

There was another equally significant demonstration at San Francisco of the effect of an informed public opinion. There was at the Conference a group of consultants to the American delegation who represented forty-two leading American organizations and groups. These consultants understood the problems which were before the Conference. With competence and with organization, they presented their views in a workmanlike and practical manner.

These consultants were directly responsible for several significant gains. The proposal—and its acceptance – that the Economic and Social Council be required to set up a commission on human rights was primarily the work of the consultants. Instead of each working alone on generalized ideas in this field, they got together as a group and worked out a specific and practical recommendation. So complete was the agreement that the CIO and the AFL chose a common spokesman, and such organizations as the National Association of Manufacturers and the Chamber of Commerce of the United States agreed with the labor, the farm, the educational, religious, racial and peace organizations. When they spoke with one voice, they were, in varying degrees, speaking for millions of Americans. They made articulate in an organized way the aspirations and wants of large masses of people. When they so spoke they were heard by the U. S. Delegation and the Conference.

The consultants also played a large role in getting several other important changes in the

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original draft of the Charter. It was partly through their efforts that, in addition to the mandatory commission on human rights, more adequate recognition was given in several other parts of the Charter to the need for promoting respect for, and observance of, human rights and fundamental freedoms for all. Cultural and health problems were specifically included within the scope of the Economic and Social Council's work largely as a result of the insistence of the consultants. To insure continuance of the constructive experiment which the consultants themselves had started, they prevailed upon the Conference to accept the proposal that the Economic and Social Council "may make suitable arrangements for consultation with non-governmental organizations." The various non-governmental organizations throughout the world ought to carry on the work which was so successfully started at San Francisco by the American consultants and act continuously to express the wants and views of the people.

Under the San Francisco Charter, the Economic and Social Council was explicitly given the powers of initiating studies and making reports and recommendations to the General Assembly, the member nations and the specialized agencies. Except in very unusual cases these reports and recommendations should be available to the general public. These powers are the most important which the Economic and Social Council has.

One of the many sets of experiences following the last war affords an illustration of the kind of work which the Economic and Social Council could usefully perform. The use of barter agreements, multiple currencies, the stockpiling of strategic materials, the development of ersatz and other economic warfare and autarchic measures by Germany, within the framework of a dictatorship state, should have been the clearest danger signals of approaching war to the peoples of the world. But there was only sporadic and inadequate discussion of the economic and social aspects of Germany's plans and action for conquest. Very few institutions or persons with knowledge and authority and access to large masses of people spoke out early and often enough about these activities and what they meant to the peace of the world. Authoritative reports and recommendations made by an institution such as the Economic and Social Council might have had an important corrective effect.

THE greatest obstacles to the ultimate success of the Economic and Social Council, and for that matter the United Nations Organization itself, are our present-day values and thinking. Major changes in our attitudes will be necessary if the potentialities of the Council are to be realized.

Our political, economic and social thinking and action are far behind our scientific and war-making development and behavior. The speed with which scientific discoveries have released atomic energy for destructive purposes has shocked us into the realization that we are afraid of our new power to utilize atomic energy and doubtful of our ability to use it only constructively. We might well be.

For centuries most of the leaders, as well as most of the peoples of the world, have paid too little attention to the more important but less dramatic values and factors necessary for a workable peace. The atomic bomb is only one of the spectacular modern developments which leads us to question whether we have developed our ideas and institutions enough to control all of the instruments of destruction which science can invent.

The case of the atomic bomb points up some basic questions about the workings of both the United Nations Organization and the Economic and Social Council. The United States and the United Kingdom have not indicated clearly that they are willing to work toward a sharing of the secret, as well as the mutual sharing, now and in the future, of other scientific secrets, with the three other members of the Big Five—the Soviet Union, China and France—or with the members of the Security Council.

The growing development of faith in the United Nations and the working toward plans to share such information would seem to be far better long-range policy. In the light of the scientific developments that we have seen in our own lifetime, it is fair to assume that other countries will find out the secret of the atomic bomb, improve on it or develop some instrument or way of warfare which is even more destructive than the atomic bomb. Unless we deal on the basis of developing confidence and the mutual interchange of information among at least the members of the Security Council, we will run the danger of not having real security.

On other aspects of the interchange and use of scientific and technical information, a reorientation of our ideas may also help the Economic and Social Council and the Organization to do their job better. This war has

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demonstrated, for example, that when the United States and the United Kingdom, starting in 1940, began to exchange scientific and technical information for security purposes the rate of development and production of items such as liquid-cooled aircraft engines, radar and penicillin were materially stepped up.

There can be little doubt that the full and free interchange of scientific information between the United Nations on a reciprocal basis would give the Organization one of its strongest powers for the prevention of war. Whether this interchange should be undertaken through the machinery of the Security Council or by the creation of an international scientific organization, operating under the staff direction of the Economic and Social Council, is a debatable question.

There are many other areas in which we have to put our thinking in the proper perspective if the potentialities of the Economic and Social Council are to be fully realized. In defining the objectives of the Economic and Social Council, for example, words are used about promoting higher standards of living, solutions of international health problems and observance of human rights. But there can be no standards of living or health or human rights for those for whom there is no life. The preservation of life itself should be one of the most fundamental objectives in any civilized community. During this most destructive of wars, for instance, there were far more American lives lost by cancer in one year than by battle casualties in the first three years we were in the war. All the funds—private as well as public—expended in the United States for research into the causes of cancer in any one year have been less than the Government of the United States spent in eleven minutes for war purposes.

Unless we re-examine our thinking on such fundamental issues, we will hardly be able to give real life to the work of the Council. We must put some of our basic views on the maintenance of life and health into better perspective, or the power of the Economic and Social Council to promote solutions of international health problems, will not be adequately realized.

ONE of the challenges to the Economic and Social Council and its commission on human rights will be whether they really can begin to give practical meaning to the high ideals of the Charter on human rights and fundamental freedoms. The provisions of the Charter on these matters are not self-executing. The objectives will be exceedingly difficult of achievement unless the peoples of the world re-examine and eliminate or reduce many of their deep-seated prejudices.

One of the great tasks and opportunities of the Council and the Commission on Human Rights will be to prepare an international bill of rights—a workable one, not too delimited by narrow thinking. A good deal of work has already been done on the drafting of such a bill by private individuals and organizations. The continuation of that work should not be held up pending the formal setting up of the Economic and Social Council. Nor should any time be lost in setting up the Commission on Human Rights under the Council.

Another function of the Economic and Social Council and its Commission on Human Rights will be to take practical steps to see that freedom of information—freedom of the press, the radio and the movies—is effectively achieved —or at least started on the road to accomplishment. This will not be done unless the overwhelming mass of people of the world think and feel that such freedom of information will prevent misunderstandings between the peoples and nations of the world and help in other ways to create the conditions for peace.

It will be of no real avail for the Council, for example, to speak of creating conditions of well-being and solving international economic, social and health problems if the more fortunate peoples of the world are not more alert and insistent than they now are about helping the suffering peoples—the thousands of children who have tuberculosis and rickets and the starved, the homeless, the sick and the others who have suffered from this war. The world cannot long remain half prosperous and half starved without heading for war.

The Economic and Social Council will be seriously hampered in promoting full production and employment and high levels of international trade if the peoples of each of the United Nations do not struggle to achieve these objectives with the same boldness and drive which they used in the war. In the days and months to come there will be heated discussions in the United States and in many of the other United Nations on the problems of full peacetime production and employment and rising levels of world commerce. The usual clichés and political prejudices will doubtless come to the forefront. New and clear thinking will be necessary if these problems are to be solved.

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These are but a few of the many cases where there is a wide gap between what the people of the United Nations do and what they should do. Unless this gap is closed—and closed reasonably quickly—by imaginative leadership and by the strong insistence of the peoples of the world, we can little hope for the successful working of the Economic and Social Council. The doctrine of "too little and too late" can be more devastating and pernicious in the keeping of peace than in preparing for war.

IT is already five minutes to twelve on the economic, social and political problems of the peace. The last shot of the war did not mean that victory was completed and the peace secured. Now is the time for bold action, and for the recasting of our values in the political, economic and social fields of the peace. It took us far less time to plan, organize and execute an Allied invasion involving millions of men and a ruthless enemy—an undertaking more gigantic in scope than any in history—than it has taken us to work out and put into operation the relatively simple Bretton Woods Proposals for an International Monetary Fund and an International Bank for Reconstruction and Development. The needs for reconstructing the damage of the war are crying out, the currencies of the world require stabilization and the resources of the world should be developed now as well as later if the solid economic foundations for the peace are to be built. What are the peoples and the leaders of the United Nations waiting for?

We have a United Nations Relief and Rehabilitation Administration and there are millions upon millions of the liberated peoples who vitally need supplies and services so that they can begin to help themselves. Now that the war is over, are those peoples who suffered least from the war going to use up for themselves all of the supplies released by the cessation of the war instead of sharing them with those who suffered most?

There is another example—of the many that exist—pointing up the critical need for appropriate action now if the Economic and Social Council is to be effective. That is the United Nations Organization itself, of which the Economic and Social Council is one of the principal organs. Although we have learned since our experience with the League and started and carried out much of the work on the Organization before this war was ended, we are apparently still moving slower than is necessary or desirable. Work on this Organization was started some years ago. The Dumbarton Oaks conversations were concluded on October 7, 1944. The United Nations Conference on International Organization met in San Francisco on April 25, 1945. The conference was concluded on June 26, 1945. To date only a few of the United Nations have ratified the San Francisco Charter. Although a Preparatory Commission has been set up to speed the work of the United Nations Organization when it comes into force, at the present rate of action, the United Nations Organization and the Economic and Social Council are not likely to come into full operation before next year.

THE proposed Economic and Social Council of the United Nations is an advance over the treatment accorded international economic and social problems in the Covenant of the League of Nations. In the League Covenant there was only a relatively casual reference to these problems in one of the last articles—Article 23. In the San Francisco Charter the powers and functions of the Economic and Social Council are relatively full-blown.

The San Francisco Charter provisions on the Economic and Social Council are also a good deal ahead of the sections in the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals dealing with that Council. The San Francisco Conference added flesh and blood to the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals.

In the twenty-five years between Geneva and Dumbarton Oaks, the peoples of the world slowly began to glimpse the importance of improving international economic and social conditions if we were to maintain peace. That realization found expression in the San Francisco Charter.

The economic and social work of the League of Nations was insufficient to prevent the aggression of the Axis Nations. The Economic and Social Council of the United Nations Organization cannot itself prevent future aggressions. But, insofar as men and women of good will, by a superior common effort, seek to improve the lot of the peoples of the world, they will tend to remove the reasonable grounds of discontent from the masses on whose troubles the aggressors must capitalize since any aggressor must have mass support to wage war. If the Council accomplishes the difficult task of realizing its potentialities, it will offer some real hope of ever increasing welfare and so will help to create a world in which the average man and woman can live and work in peace and security.

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SELLING U. S. PREFERRED

by HARRY W. FLANNERY

Harry W. Flannery, CBS news analyst in California and a prominent Catholic liberal, tells here of his recent 'round-the-world flight and of the great interest and curiosity he found everywhere in all things American.

SOMETHING new is happening in the world today. It's coming about largely through international advertising, and this time it is being sponsored, although belatedly, by the greatest advertising nation of all times, the United States. With half of a 38,000-mile War Department sponsored air tour fresh behind me, I had felt this new and healthy internationalism around a quarter of the globe, and was to feel it increasingly around another quarter.

Ever since my big C-54 Air Transport Command plane set down on the glistening white runways of Cazes at Casablanca, I had seen our advertising switch over from products to ideas. We have always sold automobiles and refrigerators, radios and hair nets, until even the most remote Chindit, in his mountain-jungle fastness, knows the "Made in America" label. But our ideas of government and personal liberty we never troubled ourselves to sell. We left this field open for the harrows of others, among them our authoritarian enemies.

The peoples of the globe, diseased and ragged, tortured and oppressed, quite as much by our indifference as by the bestial axis fangs, are hungry for our ideas of democracy and self-government, justice and liberty. They want to know the way our unions operate, how our farmers use machines to produce larger crops, how we manage to have a higher standard of living, our way of life in Huntington, Indiana, and Little Rock, Arkansas. Through the OWI we undertook this responsibility of salesmanship to win a war; we must continue it through the State Department to maintain a peace.

Though every turn of the road, every hurdle, is beset by suspicions and prejudices, racial and national, religious and class, economic systems and imperialistic oppressions, a start has been made. We have begun courageously to carry out this salesmanship of our ideals, and little by little, the faint streakings of a brighter world are being seen through the thickets.

The evidence of this dawning was apparent in Tunis and Cairo, Chungking and Kunming, Naples and Rome, Salzburg and Munich. I saw its effect on battle-weary GIs as they stepped on American-bound bombers in the Italy they had so recently pulverized, and upon the Negro truck drivers from the cloud-shrouded serpentine trail that is the Stilwell Road. They are insistent on Truth and Justice. Lord Louis Mountbatten talked in Kandy, about rights of men; Generalissimo Chiang Kai-shek spoke of cooperation in war and peace as we sipped tea. At a special audience in Rome, Pius XII, giving the first papal pronouncement in history on the responsibility of the journalist, urged "fidelity to Truth in what you write and speak." He told us that those who promote error through carelessness or purposefully render "a great disservice to their fellowmen; they are aiming a great mortal blow at the spirit of brotherly love between the children of the same heavenly Father, and gravely imperil peace among nations." I heard it, this responsibility for the future, even from a one-legged young German with whom I looked on the rubble that was Munich's Frauenkirche.

Now that the atomic bomb has given a glimpse into the next war and made us realize no longer the obligation, but the necessity of world cooperation, you find people everywhere becoming more impatient with misrepresentation, with half truths. They look for the Age of Understanding, for a realization that civilization is not based so much on modern plumbing and whether a man has two cars, as on what is inside the man. None of those with whom I talked used these words. Some merely talked of the fear that war is inevitable, or that we cannot get along with Russia or Britain. But their thousand different approaches, their in-

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sistence that we must somehow get along together, that we must use our world power to promote understanding and truth, were basically identical.

All these men demanded truth. They want an end to bunk. And the people of China, France, Italy, French Morocco, want to learn about us. We can do both together, make friends and influence people, help maintain peaceful relations with other countries, and aid them to attain for themselves a greater share of freedoms and comforts. For the practical minded, this also can help us get more business, and might be more likely to provide those sixty million jobs.

THE British have advertised their ideas and their country in this fashion for many years. For some time they have been sending speakers to the United States who are available for lectures, and radio interviews. The British furnished more booklets, attractively illustrated, on the British war effort, than any other nation. In countries like Mexico, they furnish country newspapers with easy lessons in English, and they help maintain an English page in Mexico City's *Novedades* by paying part of the editor's salary.

The Russians, particularly in Latin America, are busy spreading information, with their own offerings, finding many interested ears and eyes because of the success of Red arms on the battlefields and because depressed people are actively interested in the kind of economy for which men have fought so hard. You have only to step over to Cuba, to learn that the Soviet legation in a beautiful residence in the exclusive Vedado section in Havana is the only one with a press attaché. The Communist Party, which has changed its name to the Popular Socialist Party, owns the only radio station in Cuba with an international channel; the Communist newspaper, *Hoy,* is among the highest in circulation, and everywhere you may see exhibitions of photographs, paintings and posters of the Soviet Union, or see a motion picture imported from Moscow on the war, industrial production and the life of the Russian people. The argument against this kind of activity is that it is propaganda, but there is nothing wrong with propaganda if it is truthful. No American can well argue against advertising, for keeping our light under a bushel. Maybe because we know more about advertising than any other people, and although we have made mistakes and been hesitant about selling ideas, our agencies are doing a better job in many places than the veterans.

TAKE Mexico, for instance. Formerly, wealthy Mexicans sent their sons and daughters abroad to study in French and German schools. That was because they found mostly French and German literature and science in their bookstores and libraries. They considered these countries leaders in education. We opened a library in Mexico City, the Benjamin Franklin, and stocked its shelves with books by some of our medical authorities, our leading lawyers, agriculturalists, engineers, our best volumes on labor, politics, economics and our best literature. The effect has been to turn Mexican attention to our country as one of authority and to incite the British to open their own library.

And the war gave this activity new impetus. When I came down on the airfield at Casablanca, I landed on one of the busiest airports in the world today. Every six minutes a plane was taking off for the United States. As I flew from Casablanca to Tripoli, to Algiers, Tunis, Cairo, Abadan, Karachi, and landed on some of the finest and largest fields in the world, built by this country, I was proud of the way we do things. But I wondered whether we would be able to keep them after the war, to help maintain military security, or as important points on commercial routes in an air-minded postwar era.

In Casablanca, Algiers, Oran and Tunis, our job is to make the people like and trust the United States. You cannot do that merely by flaunting pictures of warships, tanks, bombers and planting the flag on Surabachi. For one thing, they are more interested in how we have handled agriculture than in anything else. We have distributed excellent booklets and articles on *France and America, Story of a Friendship,* and *American Cities of French Origin,* telling of the foundation and development of Detroit, Chicago, Duluth, St. Paul, St. Louis, New Orleans and Mobile, but the people want to know how they can learn from the United States to produce more and better crops.

The articles provided the press by the OWI found a welcome in French Morocco. In one issue of *Le Petit Casablanca,* half the front page was made up of articles furnished by us, with the usual article on an agricultural subject on the inside—in this issue it concerned rural electrification.

ONE of the potentially most important interests of the United States is in China, because that nation will probably take the place of Japan as the dominant nation of the Orient,

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and it would be wise to aid China in obtaining this objective. The large crowds of Chinese who line the roadsides all over China to cheer our army cars as they roll by, to cry out, with upraised thumb, "Ting Hao," and the statements of Chinese from the coolie in the street to the governors of provinces, the generals and the Generalissimo, testify to our success.

Our work in China was primarily to aid in overcoming the Japanese, but it has also built for postwar. The Chinese are largely an underprivileged people, but you learn to like their laughing attitude, their pride which forbids beggars, and their extraordinary curiosity. Once we learned about this national curiosity, our services of information took full advantage of it.

The Chinese look to an optimistic future, no matter what the odds, and they want to learn. They are interested in our ways, and it is up to us to give a hand to the aspiring Chinese, to let him grasp ours all the more thankfully.

Hwa Pao, a picture tabloid published weekly by the OWI, had the second largest circulation of any newspaper published in China. The paper featured regular news photographs, maps and cartoons on the war. There was a subtle message for the Chinese victimized by an inflation that makes a shoe shine cost $50, tooth paste $300 a tube, and eggs $27 each, in a page telling how food is rationed and prices are controlled in the United States. Pictures showing a Chinese soldier being decorated by General Sultan, and Americans showing Chinese how to operate a machine gun, follow the Chinese saying that "one picture is worth ten thousand words."

Because of the poor quality of the paper, the Chinese press cannot print half-tone photographs, but they welcome the stories we provide them. In April, a typical month, 949 stories were given the Chinese Central News Agency by the OWI, of which 339 were used in the CNA English news service and 466 in its Chinese service. The total number of stories supplied by OWI appearing in the six Chungking papers for the month were 1330. That's more than seven a day in each one, a record that no press agent has ever before even dreamed of attaining.

Five thousand copies of the State Department white paper on the causes that led to this war have been printed in Chinese and distributed. Fifteen thousand copies of an illustrated book, *Our Armed Forces,* have been read. The Chinese also have been interested, in the thousands, in Ambassador Grew's *Report From Japan,* Henry Wallace's *Our Job in the Pacific,* and in the other nineteen volumes of Chinese reprints that were available when I was in China.

I've sat with tens of thousands of Chinese in a cleared space in a remote Sinkiang province watching slides on the news and phases of life in the United States, and motion picture news weeklies, cartoons and information films. A silk-robed old fellow stood on a table beside the screen to explain each picture in the local dialect. There were 53 motion picture projectors and 400 film strip projectors operated in 110 cities within the twelve provinces of China.

The effect has been that the Chinese people are among the best friends we have. You get the impression that the people of the earth would like and not suspect each other if the press, the radio, the motion picture, and the lecture platform, told us more about our fellow men.

This must be based on truth. The whole truth.

THOSE who travel to an India that has been pictured only as a land of mystery and romance, will recoil from the stench of villages where patties of cow dung dry on the walls, from the bodies of sleeping Indians over which you have to step in the streets, and the descent of the vultures on the dead laid on Parsee towers. These sores are the responsibility of the whole world. We must build on truth, try to make plain the difficulties in less educated and less developed nations, to erase these hideous living conditions. That is easier now that millions of our young men have been in far fields and have seen conditions with their own eyes.

The United States is now the acknowledged leader of nations, the strongest sea, land and air power in the world, the first big power to ratify the charter of the United Nations. The United States is the hope of people with whom I've talked in Greece, Yugoslavia, Hungary, China and India. It is the nation that has shown the way in advertising and selling material things. We are now challenged to sell ourselves and the ideals that have made us. The task begun by the Office of the Coordinator of Information and the OWI is now transferred to the State Department. Whether we continue the effort half-heartedly or dynamically can determine whether millions of our young men will be killed in another generation and whole cities laid waste. The answer is up to you, the people, through your Congress.

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EDUCATION UNDER THE CHARTER

by Alexander Meiklejohn

The day is at hand when nations and peoples must arrange for universal education of humanity for freedom, if the high hopes of world peace contained in the United Nations Charter are to be realized. For the safety of the world can no longer rest on any narrow foundation . . . it must be based on the good-will of all peoples.

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THE Charter of the United Nations does not intend to abolish, among the nations, differences of belief or interest. But it does intend, so far as possible, to deal with those differences reasonably.

The official statement of that intention marks the beginning of a revolution in the world's education. If the reasonableness of mutual acquaintance and understanding is to be a definite goal of the United Nations, it is clear that a large share of the burden of the new enterprise must fall upon our schools and colleges. Neither nations nor individuals can use understanding unless they have it. How then shall they get it? How can the nations of the earth be brought into such acquaintance with each other, such knowledge of themselves and of their fellows and of the human situation as a whole, that they can think reasonably together? That is primarily a teacher's question.

The answering of this question, as posed by the Charter, has been made much more difficult by a new and strong insistence that all governing must be democratic. If we were willing that vital decisions should be made by a few leaders in each nation, the task of educating these "irresponsible" rulers would be a relatively easy one. If, however, we insist that all governing shall be done by those who are governed, then nothing short of universal education in freedom for all humanity will serve our purpose. That purpose thus becomes a direction rather than a goal. But it is all the more imperative.

I

For citizens of the United States the best available way of exploring the educational possibilities and difficulties of the Charter is to compare and contrast it with our own Constitution. Under the Charter, when adopted, there will be at first only a loose and limited confederation of fifty or more nations. Under the Constitution, forty-eight states are tightly bound together to "form a more perfect Union." For the teacher as well as for the statesman or the economist, the difference here is enormous. But the sameness, too, is significant.

In each case there is provision for federated action. And, under the Charter, as under the Constitution, the question takes the form, "How, while maintaining the integrity and independence of fifty constituent parts, can the united action of the whole become a dominating and inspiring factor in forming the minds and wills and tastes of one hundred and thirty million or of two billion self-governing people?"

As we try to project our minds into the future of education, we must imagine a situation in which Norway, China, Britain, Mexico, Russia, India, the United States and many other nations are still conducting their varied schemes of teaching, each in terms of its own cultural heritage, its own beliefs, apprehension of values and surrounding conditions. In what form, then, shall we add to these separate endeavors, a common endeavor? How shall we devise and administer teaching which shall have in Mexico as in Norway, in Britain as in Russia, the same essential purpose of creating throughout the world a community of taste, of knowledge, of mutual understanding, of cooperative intention? What we face here is the typical problem of a federated society. It is a problem with which the education of the United States has been struggling throughout our history.

What lessons have we learned which may throw light on the path which, under the

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Charter, the United Nations must now tread?

II

We have had, within our own borders, a problem closely akin to those which in the international field have in the past led to war. The issue between the white and black races, between North and South as related to it, has always carried the threat of armed conflict. It has required of us, as a federal union, that we cultivate between races, between states, between regions, the ideas and attitudes of mutual understanding. What, then, has our education done toward the meeting of that requirement?

No one can doubt that, at this crucial point, the record of our national teaching is one of practically complete failure. So far as the race problem has been settled at all, it was settled in the 60's by the Civil War. Since we could not, in the days of Lincoln and Douglas, learn to think together, we had to fight. That fighting proved that the North was stronger than the South. But it proved nothing else. "Nigger-lovers" and "slave-drivers" still glare at each other across a chasm of bitter, hostile misunderstanding and misrepresentation.

It is true that, to some extent, conflicting attitudes have been softened by changes of external circumstance. But it is also tragically clear that in dealing with a major problem of our national policy, the United States has not learned to think effectively. Our schools and colleges have done little, if anything, to create the habit of reasonable discussion of the race issue. On the contrary, they have been, for the most part, willing and uncritical servants of local hatreds and prejudices which breed war.

The same failure of our teaching is evident in every phase of national life. The debates of our popular forums of the air, for example, reveal a nation for which genuine discussion is a lost art. Those contests are often more nearly akin to prize fights than to attempts at mutual understanding. Their only apparent test of truth is that of the power of an idea to survive "in the competition of the market-place." Each side, each interest, each region, feels free to press its claims with a ruthless disregard for the general situation. From such habits of debate as these, men do not learn to think. They learn to argue, to lobby, to propagandize. They become, in relation to the common purposes of the Constitution or of the Charter, basically uneducated.

Out of the bitterness of this failure of our national education, we may bring to the planning of the United Nations, three suggestions. The first has to do with administrative organization, the second, with the education of teachers, the third, with the teaching of adults.

III

As we plan for administrative organization under the Charter, the experience of the United States may remind us that the loyalties which gather around teaching are intensely local. Communities are, therefore, deeply suspicious of wider influence or authority.

In our own country these suspicions have been so effective that the federal Office of Education is sharply limited in the scope of its activities. It has no policy-making authority. That power is reserved to the separate states and municipalities. The national agency is little more than a bureau of information describing what the localities are doing. Its publications have interest for those who "administer" teaching, but not for those who "do" it, nor for anyone else. We have a national educational bureaucracy. But we have no national teaching.

Will the educational organization of the United Nations fall into the same pit which we have dug for ourselves? Presumably yes. It is true that our fellow nations under the Charter have far less suspicion of their own central governments than we have. But it may be taken for granted that Britain or Argentina or Russia will be quite as fearful of supervision of its schools by a super-federation as are our own states fearful of federal supervision.

We shall probably have an International Office of Education. It may be modeled after the United States pattern. One of the strongest arguments in its favor will be the assurance that it will have no control, will advocate no policies. The world will then be flooded with "surveys." But, meanwhile, each separate nation will be conducting its own independent teaching. Young Englishmen will be learning to be English, young Spaniards to be Spanish, young Middletowners to be Middletownese. And, for the purposes of the Charter, the old question takes on a new urgency, "Where, then, is the place of understanding?"

IV

The prospects for effective international organization of education, we have found depressing. But that does not mean that hope must be abandoned. In spite of an American prejudice to the contrary, the "administrator" of teaching is not really important. His influence is chiefly negative and precautionary. It

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is the teacher who counts. In the cultivation of intelligence, all other factors are as nothing when compared with the quality of his mind.

If we turn again to the domestic problem of race relations, we can see how decisive is the thinking quality of the teacher. Our education has failed to attack the problem chiefly because our teachers are, by training, "locally" minded. Educated in the schools, colleges, and normal institutions of their own regions, the teachers of North and South never become intellectually acquainted with one another. There is, between them, no effective exchange of ideas and experiences.

For the removal of this block in our teacher-training, two forms of education are needed.

First, teachers of all grades should take their higher education in institutions far removed from the influences of their home communities. They should engage in active intellectual comradeship with others like themselves.

Second, no one should be regarded as qualified for permanent teaching in any region until, by some years of teaching experience in other regions, he has become in the method and content of his mind, a citizen of the United States as well as of Rhode Island or of Kansas. The only way to teach reasonableness in the discussion of differences is by discussing those differences reasonably. To further the practice of that art, the attitude of the American community toward its teachers must be radically changed. We tend to revere the school and to despise those who are in charge of it. But, as against this, our teachers must be, and must be recognized by us as being, the leaders of our thinking. If they cannot lead the old, they will have little influence over the young.

And the same general plan of teacher-training should be applied to international education. We need scattered throughout the world, internationally-minded universities which will lead teachers of all lands and of all grades toward an understanding of human society as conceived by the Charter. And, further, teachers of all grades should, for a time, teach in countries other than their own. This would require that they learn to use at least one foreign language with ease and precision. But why not? Surely the time has come when learning "how to teach" should be recognized as a wretched substitute for the proper education of a teacher. The teacher must learn "how to think."

V

I discussed, in 1938, the adult phase of international education in these words:

"If we are to have a world state and teach its lessons, it is clear that the most difficult, as well as the most essential education must be given, not to children, but to men and women. As the new world takes form, the minds of children of every race and country will accept it as easily, more easily, than the chaotic, confusing, self-contradictory scheme of behavior which we now present to them. But that is not true of the grown-ups. We elders are caught in fear, in habit, in custom, in prejudice, in prudence, in common sense. It is we, therefore, who resist the education or re-education which we need. If we are to have the moral and intellectual reconstruction which is implied in the making of a world state, the prime essential is an adequate process of adult education. Our minds will have to be refashioned. And we ourselves must do it."

Those words still seem to me true. The vital connection between freedom and education has long been recognized. But we have naïvely thought of education as the teaching of children. That illusion must be destroyed. Under the complicated and perplexing conditions of modern life, free government becomes possible only in so far as the adults, the voters, of all nations are linked together in systematic attempts at mutual acquaintance and intellectual cooperation. Schools and colleges are merely preparatory to the learning on which the welfare of humanity now depends. For the purposes of the Charter of the United Nations no other project is so urgent as that of creating and maintaining world-wide adult education.

One great advantage of planning for the education of adults is that it is relatively free from the suspicions and prejudices which rise up to defend from "foreign" ideas the teaching of the young. The field is open. Classes for adults do not interfere with the school systems of the separate nations.

Many tentative plans for international adult education have been suggested. I presented one of them in the January 1943 issue of FREE WORLD.

The opportunity and the need are both tremendous. The greatest of all revolutions has begun. At San Francisco the first tentative step was taken. As the project moves on, we must devise the teaching upon which its sanity and its success alike depend.

In this exciting situation, if we may with good grace borrow a revolutionary slogan of like impulse, though of somewhat different meaning, we might shout to one another, "Learners of the world, unite! You have nothing to lose but your errors."

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A Reporter's Conscience Speaks...

by Heinz Liepman

There is a saying among journalists that to every newspaperman there comes a day in his life when suddenly his calloused heart melts; once or twice in his career he faces a scene which he can never forget. Heinz Liepman, himself a newspaperman of wide experience, here tells the story of how this happened to him and what he did about it.

REPORTERS, just like doctors, policemen or undertakers, are forced so often in their professional lives to face life's fantastic and tragic coincidences that they have to assume an impartial, dispassionate, and often cynical attitude. I have seen a colleague of mine, a reporter, become almost hysterical over a slight elevation of temperature in his little girl, yet watch, unmoved and indifferently, the electrocution of a twenty-year-old boy—his wild desperate last plea, the pull of the switch, the ghastly jerk of the tied body—and then walk out calmly on the courtyard and with steady hands light a cigarette.

In my years of journalistic activities I, too, have observed many an incident, calmly and often indifferently, each of which might haunt the nights of other people for a lifetime: wounded soldiers hanging in barbed wire between the lines, screaming hour after hour, begging their comrades to relieve them with a well-aimed shot; nazis forcing an old man to dig his own grave and then shooting but not aiming at him until he started laughing crazily; a tender frail girl, a bride of 9 days, forced by police to identify the body of her husband whom they had found floating in the river; a confused old woman ready to jump from the 12th floor of a hotel, and an old man, her husband the past forty years, pleading with her—and then she jumped.

There are many scenes which come to my mind; scenes in life's crazy diary; but none of them make my heart beat faster or slower. Looking back at a journalistic career of many years, there seems to be no manner of suffering or death that impressed me deeply; nothing ever surprised me; nothing moved my calloused heart.

Until three weeks ago. Three weeks ago I was taught differently.

As far as its newsworthiness was concerned the incident was quite unimportant. My editor wouldn't have given me fifty words on it. And yet, after 25 years of hectic journalism this unimportant little scene left me thoroughly shaken; many a night afterward I was haunted by what I had seen.

I saw a sick boy. And his parents.

The child was neither noisy nor wild. He was a boy of fifteen, and if I hadn't known what was the matter with him I wouldn't have noticed anything peculiar. But I watched the face of the mother, and the face of the father when they looked at him.

The father was a quiet thin little man with steel-rimmed glasses; his hands were dark and hard from a life of manual labor. Although his thin homely face was pale and tense, there was a smile hovering in the corners of his mouth—a smile that never quite reached his eyes. And with this forced smile, he said, in a thick, hoarse, voice: "How are you doing, son?" But the tone didn't come out right; he cleared his throat, a faint red rising in his cheeks, and a little louder he repeated: "How are you doing, son?"

"He cannot hear you," the young cadet nurse said, gently.

The mother, a tired woman in old-fashioned clothes, cried noiselessly.

"Better not cry," the nurse said to her, "he may sense that you are crying about him."

But the boy was in a different world. He was sitting in a chair, very straight, his hands in his lap, his eyes far away. He was insane.

And after 25 years of journalism, this scene shook me up; it made my spine shiver and my heart grow cold.

There is a saying among journalists that to every newspaperman there comes a day in his life when suddenly his calloused heart melts; once or twice in his career he faces a scene which he can never forget. He suddenly feels

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that he has been missing the boat for a long long time. He is upset. He goes home and gets drunk, or for hours walks up and down in his room yelling at anybody who dares disturb him. When his wife calls him to dinner he takes his hat and walks out. For a few nights he cannot sleep. When the editor finally phones he doesn't answer. If it is an editor who remembers his own journalistic days he will hang up and say, philosophically, "Well, now it's happened to Joe . . ." and leave Joe alone for a few days.

After a day or two it sometimes wears off. But if it doesn't, the reporter begins to meditate. He gets the feeling that for once in his life he has to prove something to himself and to his profession; that he has a sense of duty and an obligation to the people for whom he has been writing all these years.

And that is what happened to me when I saw Bill and his parents.

I couldn't forget him.

I went to the director of the hospital. He was a short, stocky fellow with a healthy, friendly, round face. "It is rare, indeed," the doctor said, after I had explained the object of my visit, "for a child to become insane. Yet, in these times we have to expect these cases." For a moment he was silent; his face darkened. "But in ten or fifteen years, when these children will have grown up—I hope I won't be around then . . ." he added.

I asked him what he meant.

"This war," he explained, "has placed such a terrific emotional and mental strain on children that many thousands of them develop behavior problems which will make them—when they grow up—mental cases or jailbirds."

SUDDENLY the words "juvenile delinquency," which I had heard so often that I became sick and tired of them, took a new shape in my mind. I saw an endless stream of children—children like Bill—walk through the barred doors of prisons and asylums—a stream that never ended . . .

From that day on I began to burn much midnight oil studying statistics, reports, articles and books. I looked through the magazines published by psychiatrists and social agencies of all kinds. Then I went one step further. I started to interview people who were responsible for child welfare, people in Federal, State and City governments, private social welfare agencies, judges, psychiatrists, psychologists, and probation officers. I began to visit courtrooms, schools, jails, clinics, and hospitals.

There was one reason only which made my self-chosen task—to inform the public—less difficult; the fact that our scientists and child welfare agencies seemed to have found a way to combat the danger. It will not solve the problem—not by far—but it will at least give our children, yours and mine, a fighting chance to grow up with healthy minds and souls—but only if it is put into practice at once.

Exactly one week after I had watched Bill and his parents for the first time, I talked to the Director of the Mental Hygiene Division of the United States Public Health Service, an energetic aggressive man of about forty, Dr. Robert H. Felix. The purpose of the Mental Hygiene Division—as far as our Federal government is concerned—is the prevention of mental diseases and the introduction of means to stop them from spreading.

"Yes," Dr. Felix said, "the problem which we have labeled Juvenile Maladjustment and Delinquency, is much more dangerous to the life of the nation and the happiness of our fellow countrymen than most people, especially the parents themselves, realize."

In a corner of his room we noticed a large poster. "Every Twelfth Child in the United States Is a Mental Misfit," it said.

Every twelfth child!

STATISTICS of Juvenile Courts and Mental Hospitals show us that the number of children coming to their attention "officially," has increased, in hundreds and sometimes in thousands of percent. The experts agree that over-protected children are even more susceptible to the dangers of inner tension and strain than others. With many children the mental difficulties will show up only in ten or fifteen years from now. These boys and girls, tense and bewildered under the influence of the war, develop behaviour problems, and become social, emotional and mental misfits only when they grow up to be adults. Then they will miss the healthy self-assurance of normal people; they won't have a deeply rooted set of moral standards by which to live. They will not be able to compete in the hard struggle for survival which our civilization demands.

Today 58 percent of all hospital beds in this country are occupied by mental cases, and there are more working hours lost because of emotional and mental disturbances than on account of physical ailments. Only a small percentage of adult mental patients can be cured. But children, if their behaviour problems are recognized in time by people trained in child

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guidance, can be treated successfully and with relative ease. Statistics show that psychiatrists, specializing in children's problems, can boast a record of many more cures than failures. The main task, therefore, is to attack the problem now while there is still a good chance to overcome it, and to prevent it from growing into an insoluble problem.

Mental and social maladjustment grow with a person. In a child they are small, hardly noticeable. With recognition and immediate treatment they can be eliminated altogether. But if they are permitted to grow into adolescence and adulthood, it may be too late.

The greatest danger which these children face is the silence in which their ailments develop. If your little boy suffers from an upset stomach or a fever, he will either complain of pains or he will run a temperature. But if the same little boy develops a state of tension (mostly without being aware of it) he may silently become mentally maladjusted, and this maladjustment may in turn lead him into a mental hospital or jail when he grows to manhood. We will never be able to do anything about such problems unless the child is regularly supervised by trained specialists.

Today the United States has progressed to a very high level. Basic problems of economic security and conservation of natural resources have been solved. The health of the nation has been made the topic of extensive studies and the death rate for all kinds of diseases has been considerably reduced. We have a right to be proud of our medical, social, and cultural accomplishments.

* * *

But should we accept, demurely, and without protest, the fact that after this war every fourth family in the United States will have a child condemned to become a mental patient or a jailbird?

We certainly should not. We should feel that it is an outrage against decency, an outrage against civilization. As we have the scientific means to prevent the behaviour problems of our children from growing into serious mental and social issues, we have the sacred duty —not only to our country but even more so to our children—to demand application of these scientific means. Several cities have, experimentally, established child guidance clinics. All experts agree—and the statistics prove it—that they have been tremendously successful. They have cured one-third of all their patients, and they have improved another third sufficiently so that these children will be able to face life and compete with healthy children. These clinics, preferably attached to schools where they could supervise thousands of children, should have a threefold duty: to teach the teachers how to recognize behaviour problems, to supervise the children at regular intervals, and to treat those who need treatment. Most of our public schools have supervised the medical and dental problems of their children for years. Is our children's mental health, endangered to an appalling extent by the strain of the war, of less importance?

* * *

The United States Public Health Service, which has done such admirable work in combatting and preventing physical illness, must live up to its great tradition by combatting and preventing mental diseases. Child Guidance clinics are preventive medicine.

All of these clinics, all over the country, will cost less than a single battleship. The maintenance of one mental patient in a State Hospital costs $6000 to $7000 of the taxpayer's money. But the establishment of a child guidance clinic—with the full staff of one or two psychiatrists, a psychologist, a nurse, and a social worker—would cost only a small fraction of this annually. If only three children are prevented from becoming mental problems, the cost of the clinic is covered. One State in which such a clinic was experimentally established saved the State Health Department $140,000 in the first year of its existence.

So far very little has been done. So far nobody has asked Congress the amount necessary to establish such child guidance clinics all over the country. The United States Public Health Service has to be encouraged by public opinion to start the ball rolling *at once*—and to help us and our children.

ONCE in a lifetime to every journalist comes the issue his heart cannot deny, when he feels that he has to fulfill an obligation to the profession he loves—to the country he loves even more—and to his set of ethics he loves most. I have seen Bill, and I have seen parents standing in front of court buildings and mental hospitals, facing the barred doors, waiting for their children to come out. I have seen these children coming out, and I have seen the look with which these parents embraced their children whom they had failed to protect.

I have started to fight and I want you to help. What are you going to do about it?

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THE TIME IS RIPE

by Octavio Mangabeira

Octavio Mangabeira, a member of the Brazilian Academy, has been a consistent fighter against fascism in his native land, and has opposed the Vargas dictatorship on many occasions.

THE establishment of a new democratic order in the world depends upon two conditions, each of which is indispensable for the preservation of freedom in the world.

The first is, of course, the coalition of the democratic governments into an international organization which will prevent the repetition of the errors which gave rise to so many evils. These errors have consisted fundamentally in permitting the growth and dissemination of dictatorships through the indifference and even with the help of the democracies.

But the joint action of governments is not sufficient. Nor will the best and most powerful official league of nations suffice. We must bring about a union of the democratic and popular forces of the world which will be engaged in similar efforts carried on by means of another international organization of a private character. Its objectives should be, first, to defend the cause of liberty in all parts of the world; second, to contribute effectively to the work of the official organization, assuming the responsibilities which an official organization cannot normally discharge; third, to maintain a continuous vigil over the work and the efforts of the official organization, since this alertness is both the right and the duty of the peoples of the world.

The very logic of events will make the postwar era one of democratic internationalism—or in other words, an era devoted to the consecration of international democracy.

In times like these it would be absurd for the democratic forces of the world to remain as dispersed and isolated as they have been until now. It is obvious that if they remain united by the ideal tie which identifies them, they will become more useful for their own ends and for that great common cause—the rights of mankind—which transcends all differences of race and geographical location.

Even admitting that our victory implies the immediate exclusion of the dictatorships, the democratic forces must nevertheless organize to render impossible a resurgence of the dictatorships. The catastrophe which we have just experienced must be of some usefulness, not only to governments, but also to peoples, and individually to each of us. The forces of good must be united and organized everywhere against the forces of evil.

We cannot repeat to ourselves too often: "Fascism is international; communism is international; now is the time to internationalize democracy." Who knows if the opportunity will always exist. Among democratic Latin Americans these ideas are gaining ground daily; for there is no country in Latin America where democratic feelings are not deeply rooted in the hearts of the people.

Despite this fact, we all know how things are. For many years Latin America, especially in more backward districts, has been suffering from a kind of endemic epidemic, called "caudillismo" (boss rule), which is peculiar to certain forms of dictatorship. In recent years, however, nazi-fascist influences have perverted even the most responsible countries—mostly as an excuse for those controlling the armed forces to seize power. This has aggravated considerably the crisis of freedom. But you have here a terrible paradox: here in America, we constantly clamor against the dictators of other continents while our own continent is full of them.

We take the keenest interest, and properly so, in the freedom of the most remote nations, even of our antipodes, while in our own vicinity, and among the nations which we call "sister republics," we find some of the most completely enslaved peoples of the world.

AMONG us, on this continent, a high place in the struggle to organize an appropriate reaction against our continental evil of dictatorships is universally accorded to FREE WORLD. For FREE WORLD perceives more clearly than any other single organization that the new democratic order can be built on solid foundations only if all of us assume the task and the responsibility of watching over liberty everywhere.

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The need for Standardization

by Edgard du Prey

Lt. du Prey, now in the U. S. Coast Guard Reserve, is an engineer and has written for many technical publications. While stationed in Hollandia between invasion hops as commanding officer of an L.S.T., he narrowly escaped being smashed by a jeep which, conforming to the local traffic rules, was driving on the left-hand side of the road. It started him thinking on "the need for standardization."

SOON the United Nations will be confronted in earnest with the task of translating into action the declarations of global interdependency made at the San Francisco Peace Conference. As political and territorial agreements are made, and the Nations draw closer to one another, the need for unification and standardization in matters affecting industry and the daily lives of the people becomes imperative.

True global interdependency must indeed be preceded, or at any rate escorted by a broad program of universalization, such as that which, in the past, gave us the International Postal Service, the Morse Code, the Greenwich Meridian, Standard Time, the International Railroad Gauge, and other beneficent systems. Interdependency in a shrinking world of close neighbors will be greatly hampered unless the demands of mutual help can be satisfied. For instance, borrowing a well-known lend-lease simile, it will do no good to lend a garden hose to a neighbor whose house is on fire unless the hose is designed to fit the neighbor's piping system.

It is also obvious that we cannot entertain the thought of building inter- and transcontinental superhighways designed to foster interdependence until the United Nations have agreed on a common rule of the road. One half of the world cannot persist in hugging the left side of the road while the other half holds to the opposite view. That is inconsistent with the most elementary safety and at odds with the clover-leaf system of intersections featured in modern speedway design. England, a great maritime nation, should have no qualms in persuading "left-hand driving" countries like herself to adopt, for their land conveyances, the same rule now applied universally to vessels over the seven seas, i.e., keeping to the starboard side of the channel. For such a task her veteran ex-Prime Minister—a one-time victim of conflicting traffic rules—is particularly well-qualified. It will be remembered that on a visit here some years ago, Winston Churchill, while crossing Fifth Avenue, was struck by an automobile as he looked for oncoming traffic in the wrong direction. China, no doubt because of the portside location of the driver's wheel on the many American cars plying on the Burma Road has recently ruled out left-hand driving on her highways.

More complex and far-reaching should be the adoption of a universal world language to spread better understanding and knit closer interdependence among countries. Such a language should represent a great simplification over all our present leading languages, doing away entirely with their too obvious imperfections and inconsistencies. This may entail a revised alphabet, but any language for extensive world use must be self pronounceable in a manner as accurate as the rendition of musical notes from a score. For that reason it should be a scientific production, the work of linguists, philologists, writers, acoustic experts, lexicographers and men of specialized talents. With the propagation and progress of radio telephony, television and the cinema, which are now the worst victims of language barriers, there is no doubt that the use of a universal language designed as an auxiliary medium of international expression would be a great boon.

Next in line should come the adoption of the almost universal metric system, as advocated by Lord Kelvin and hosts of others. This

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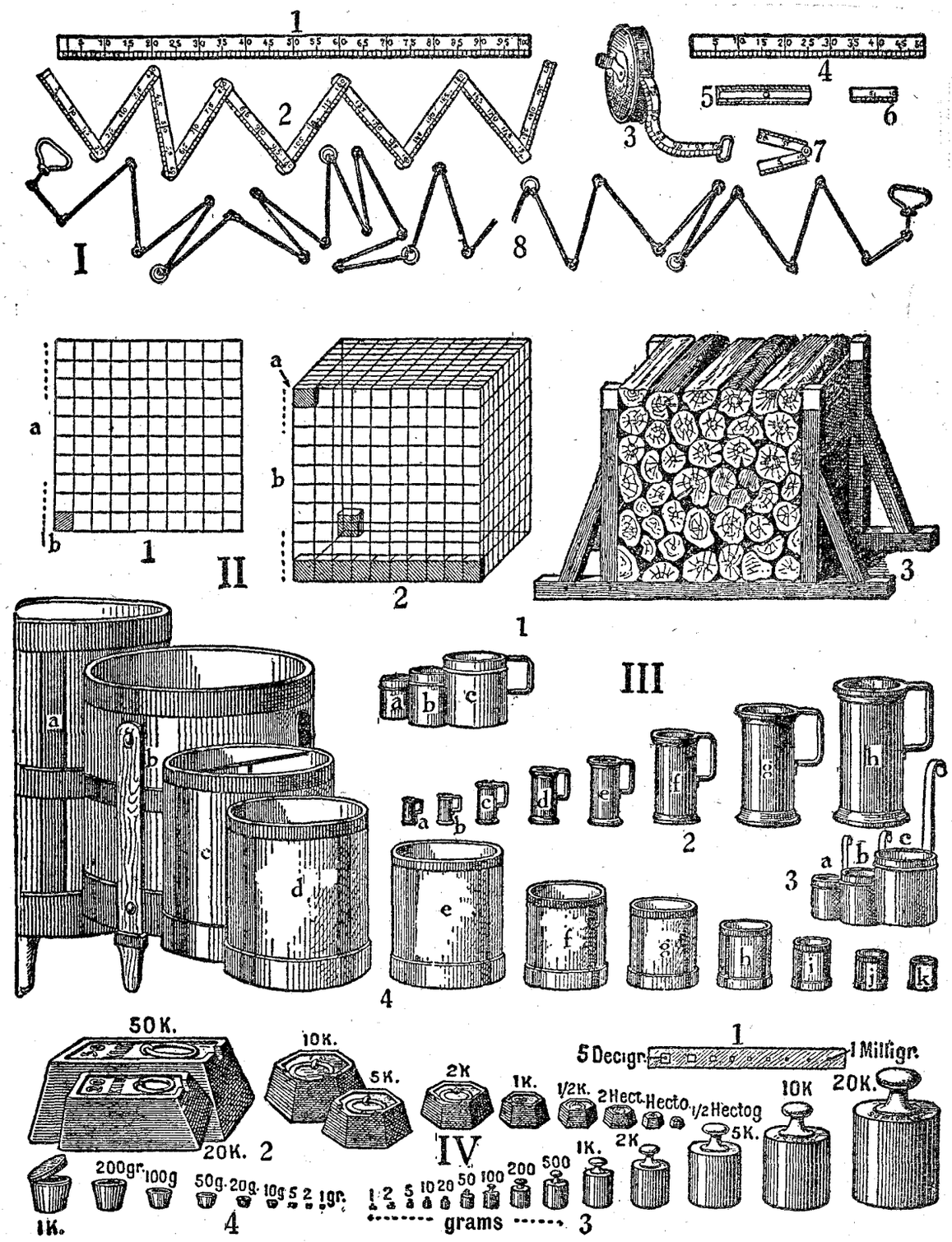

Courtesy Funk & Wagnall

A graphic picture of the necessity for a unified system of measurements.

This chart illustrates the metric system. It seems to be intricate but it is simplicity itself if compared with some of the English, American and Chinese measurements. Lt. du Prey, who speaks for himself and not for the U. S. Navy, makes a strong plea for the universal adoption of the metric system as a necessary step toward better international cooperation in trade, finance and travel.

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decimal system of expressing measures, originated in some ways by Jefferson, and first used in our own monetary system has, no doubt, made some headway over our present incoherent physical measurements. Aviation, and its ever-growing need for readily available meteorological data, led us some time ago to use millibars as decimal units of barometric pressure. For the same reason we shall soon be faced with the necessity of discarding our Fahrenheit thermometric scale in favor of the centigrade on which fresh water boils at 100 degrees (instead of 212 degrees F.) and freezes at zero (instead of +32 degrees F.). Biology and the affiliated sciences already make use of cubic centimeters (c.c.) and calories. Millimeters have become standard measurements for artillery and photography. Radio stations have their frequencies listed in kilocycles and their wave length in meters. And finally, popular athletic contests are generally run in hundred meters or multiples thereof. All of which is encouraging, but still insufficient. We must carry standardization into other fields. The luxury liner "Normandie" was lost because of a lack of adequate fire hose fittings, resulting from the difference between millimetric and eighth of an inch measurements.

NO time could be better chosen for a switch to the metric system than at present when our industries are changing from war to peace production, and must retool their factories. The capital outlay necessary for such conversion will be repaid time and again in labor saving and in increased markets abroad, where our system of weights and measures is a source of perpetual confusion and annoyance.

It is misrepresenting the facts to say that the people are too "dumb" to take to the metric system. Our railroads alluded to its traveling clientele in the same derisive manner when asked to use a continuous twenty-four hour listing of train schedules on their timetables instead of dividing the day—as is still the case at present—into a.m. and p.m., and indicating these divisions in eye-straining, light-faced and heavy-faced type. It is a great simplification to say, write, or read: the 1547 train instead of the 3.47 p.m. train. The twenty-four hour listing, adopted a great many years ago in Europe, is now used by our armed forces. Millions of service men and women are familiar with it.

The metric system offers the same advantages over our system of quarts, feet and acres that our own centesimal monetary system of dollars and cents has over the archaic British system of pounds, shillings and pence. English people have no trouble checking their change when dealing in dollars. The very fact that Sir Roger Keynes, the British financier, has undertaken to champion a centesimal international monetary currency—the "bancor"—is ample proof of this.

Another great saving of headaches and man-hours should come to the world with the adoption of a new calendar, eliminating the vagaries and inconsistencies of our present Gregorian calendar. A new, so-called "World Calendar," favored by the League of Nations and approved by fourteen countries, is self-perpetuating in that the year always begins on a Sunday, January 1, Christmas always occurs on a Monday, December 25. The second Tuesday of any month for instance, bears the same date, year after year. Thus, Labor Day, the first Monday in September, is scheduled to bear invariably the fourth of September date. Arranged in twelve months, grouped in four equal quarters of 91 days or 13 weeks, or 3 months each, this calendar has only four thirty-one day months placed at the beginning of each quarter—all months having the same number of weekdays —namely twenty-six.

THERE is naturally more to it. For instance, there is an extra day called "year-end day" which brings the total number of days in the year to 365. There is also an additional extra day placed at the end of June to provide for leap year.

The need for such a rational and perpetual calendar is unquestionable. The new world calendar described here is only one of a number of proposed calendars answering the need for standardization. It will be up to the United Nations to make a selection.

By no means unrelated to calendar reform is the stabilization of Easter. Easter Sunday is defined as the first Sunday after the first full moon occurring after March 21 (the Vernal Equinox). Accordingly, Easter eggs may start rolling as early as March 22 or as late as April 25. Such vagaries are undeniably detrimental to business, school and social schedules. Only by international agreement can a set date be assigned to Easter Sunday.

The adoption of all these measures is really a test of whether the United Nations are to work as self-sufficient isolated units in the confusion of old Babel, or as interdependent neighbors of a community determined to live in peace. Unless the United Nations can agree now on such small matters of self-evident interest to all, how can they be expected to deal successfully with issues of far greater importance?

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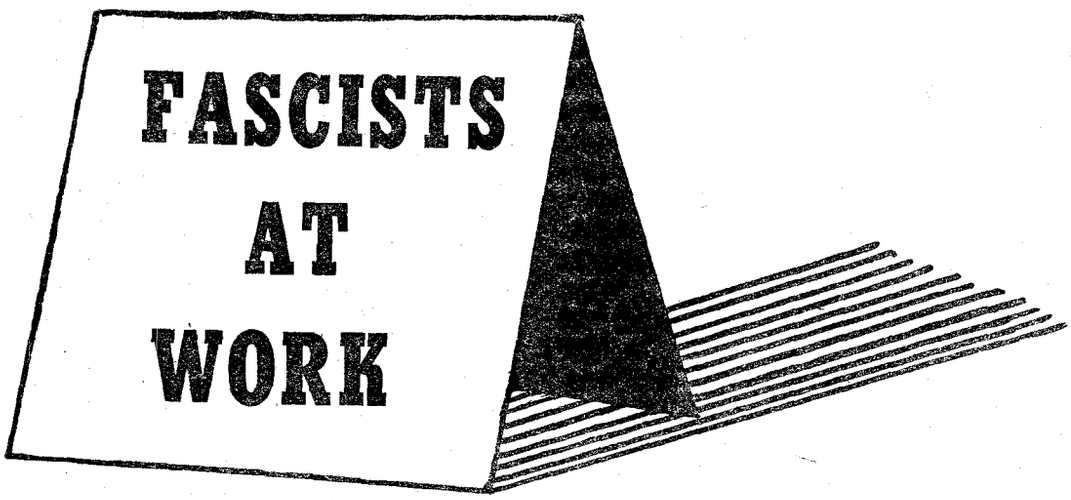

IN LIBERATED EUROPE

BY MAX MANDELLAUB

Is nazi influence dead in Europe? Or will it take more than war and bloodshed and Allied victory to tear out the roots of the nazi evil? This author believes the job is not finished yet.

THE swift dragnet of U. S. military police forces that recently hauled in 80,000 suspicious characters lurking in the zone of American occupation in Germany, gave promise that our leaders are not unaware of the extent of the nazi menace that still survives. Yet it is doubtful that even such drastic measures can really sever the roots of the poisonous nazi economic weed that spread its fibres throughout all Europe before it was checked.

The defeat of Hitler's armies constituted a serious blow to the "Fascist International," of which—to mention but a few names—the United Steel Trust, Hermann Goering Works, Krupp, Mannesmann, Kluckner, Flick, Rochling, Bosch, Siemens and Halske, Schering, I. G. Farben, Zeiss, Junkers, Messerschmidt, Daimler and Dornier formed a part. Each was closely identified with either the birth or the growth of the totalitarian system, and with the spreading of it to many parts of the world. Military defeat was not enough to choke them off. Only a small minority of this Fascist International's General Staff has as yet been arrested and tried. When the 80,000 recently taken have been carefully processed, we will indeed be lucky if a handful turn out to be the really cautious, cunning and conniving heads of the terrible international gang that has had, and that hopes to continue to have, its gun barrel in the ribs of the peace-loving nations.

From all available evidence, it can be concluded that more than two-thirds of the German economic leaders have survived the unconditional surrender in perfect health and liberty. In the non-German sector of European fascism, the casualty list is even shorter.

Those who had engendered and fostered the Hitler movement were clever enough not to proclaim their fatherhood too openly. But when the Gestapo was master in most of Europe and Hitler announced his victory virtually achieved, the Herren of the big German combines, cartels and banks uncovered their cards for a short time, and the collaborationists of the defeated nations no longer thought it necessary to hide their treacherous connection with the enemy. They stood naked and without shame for all to see as the men who had patriotism on their tongues but treason in their hearts.

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Stalingrad and El Alamein were a warning to all these gentlemen. From then on they cautiously began to dissociate themselves from the movement they had created. Nazi business agents were sent abroad to find "inviolable places" for German funds. Recently Orvis Schmidt, director of Foreign Funds Control for the United States Treasury Department, testified before the Kilgore War Mobilization Committee of the Senate, that 701 "secret financial connections" of German industry with European firms are known to exist. In addition, at least 750 enterprises in neutral countries are in reality concealed nazi subsidiaries. The capital involved may well run into billions of American dollars.

German fascist business leaders were not the only ones engaged in finding safe havens for their funds. Mussolini's Italian financiers and profiteers are not less imaginative than their German cousins. They know as well that the existing banking secrecy in Switzerland, the political system in Spain and Portugal, the business interests of Swedish and other companies, offer tremendous opportunities for putting their accumulated booty out of reach of the people they impoverished.

Collaborationists in France, Belgium, Holland, Norway and elsewhere have reason to hope that their fortunes will at least remain within their clan, even if one or another member may have to pay for his treason.

The legal structure of most European countries makes a thorough purge of fascist penetration in the economic sphere extremely complicated. Also, existing practice in international law has developed principles which protect big property interests, including those of fascist war criminals. The military victory of the United Nations has not yet removed the legal mechanism which permitted the development of fascist economic warfare as a prelude to and a partner of total war. The same legal mechanism can be put into motion to perpetuate the economic basis for a neo-fascist revival.

The liberation of Europe was accomplished by an ingenious military strategy. But this strategy did not always go beyond the purely military objective of destroying the fighting cadres of the enemy. The heroic deeds of the guerrilla fighters have not been recognized by the Western Allies as a claim for national leadership. On the other hand, economic collaboration with the enemy was often looked upon as a purely individual dishonor which did not justify any far-reaching measure for a change in the existing social hierarchy. To bring the "irregular" partisans under control was often considered much more of a "legal" necessity than the arrest of fascist directors and managers.

Little Luxemburg offers a case study of how fascist groups have managed to retain their position of economic leadership.

The economic life of this tiny country was dominated by a powerful holding company, the *Aciéries Réunies de Burbach-Eich-Dudelange,* which had a strong influence in the prewar government. It constituted the third largest iron and steel combine in Europe, only topped by the United Steel Trust and the Reichswerke Hermann Goering. In 1938 it controlled more than two-thirds of Luxemburg's considerable iron and steel export. The *Banque Internationale,* the largest bank in Luxemburg, was closely linked to this big holding company.

The French steel magnate, Eugène Schneider, was the strongest single shareholder of the company, but the shares of the *Société Générale de Bélgique* and the *Banque de Bruxelles* combined gave the Belgians a predominant influence until Hitler's accession to power. From then on German banks acquired a leading position in the Luxemburg *Banque Internationale* and, through it, in the steel holding.

During the occupation of Luxemburg, the nazis appointed a German Trustee in control of all industry. He did not feel that any substantial change in the management of the *Aciéries Réunies* was necessary. Alois Meyer, president of the company, long-time head of the Luxemburg Stock Exchange and also president of the International Steel Cartel (the central office of which was located in Luxemburg), was considered a reliable collaborator. The whole management, composed of Arthur Kipgen, Georg Zopf, Wilhelm Oerste, Heinrich Gerve and F. Chome, was continued in office and worked to the complete satisfaction of the two SS men, Hoffmann and Schmidt, who were added to the company, reorganized as a German corporation.

With the liberation of Luxemburg, the basic structure of this corporation and the top personnel have been retained. Some of the members of the management now claim anti-nazi leanings. None of the leading collaborators of the company have faced prosecution or trial.

Franco's Spain and Salazar's Portugal are the foremost grantors of asylum to fascist masters of yesterday. There are approximately 35,000 German, 12,000 Italian, 7,000 French fascists in Spain, in addition to 4,000 of other nationalities. In Portugal the total number of "homeless" Axis members is at least 12,000. The

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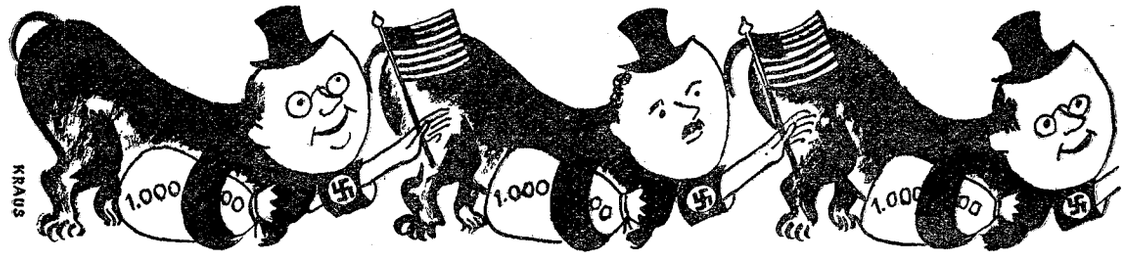

Iberian Peninsula thus shelters 70,000-odd European fascists, not counting the native Spanish and Portuguese followers of totalitarianism.

In Switzerland and Sweden together there are about 30,000 persons from former Axis countries whose past records do not dispel the strong suspicion of their having been active supporters and beneficiaries of Hitler's and Mussolini's regimes.

Fascist movements in the Russian zone of occupation or in countries liberated by the Russians, have a much shorter life expectancy than those in the Anglo-American sphere of influence. In Poland, Hungary, Romania, Yugoslavia, Bulgaria, Albania and parts of Czechoslovakia, long-pending land reforms have been carried out energetically and whatever industrial wealth existed has been taken away from the former German owners or their native partners. No cartels, whether national or international, are permitted to operate. Thus the economic basis of fascism has been removed. Any remaining fascist ideology will eventually die for lack of nourishment.

The provisional government of Poland has denounced savage anti-Semitic acts against the remnants of Jewish population. The National Democrats, as some of the Polish fascists call themselves, have maintained a few bands in certain isolated areas of the Polish Republic. The Hlinka Guards, German-organized terror groups in Slovakia, still continue, on a limited scale, individual acts of terrorism.

It cannot be expected that the poison of fascism will evaporate instantly with the disappearance of Hitler. Ideologies emerging from given social conditions have their own dynamics. Ideas tend to hold over for a time even after the conditions which produced them no longer exist. If it is made sure that these ideologies cannot obtain a new impetus, they will not survive.

The total occupation of Germany has driven underground for the time being the political organization of Hitler's movement. The central authorities of the Nazi Party paralleled the State machinery of the Third Reich with numerous personnel interconnections. There were the Führer, head of the Party and the State, the Party Secretary, the Party Chancery with its Divisions. Next in order came the Reich Directorate of the N.S.D.A.P. with 20 Reichsleiter. Agencies of the "Party Government" were in the so-called "Reichsdienststellen." These departments listed offices and commissions for Foreign Policy, Education, Health, Germanization, Peasantry, Colonial Policy, Censorship, Civil Servants, Ideological Control, Press, Propaganda, Public Welfare, Treasury, Party Tribunal, etc., a total of 23 agencies with some 200 top Nazi Party officials. Only a small percentage of these leading German fascists have been reported dead or captured.

Long before the collapse of Hitler's armies, Gestapo Chief Heinrich Himmler was setting up plans for the survival of the Nazi Party in case of a military defeat. Funds were obtained from the Party treasury and from the inflated accounts of German industrial war profiteers. The most reliable nazi leaders were recalled from all fronts and entrusted with the special task of forming a variety of underground organizations. The "Jungvolk," the Hitler Youth and the "Bund Deutscher Mädchen" were carefully combed for selection of the crew of the "U-Boat," as the movement was called. This underground movement was kept independent of the Werewolves, the group which was to enter into guerrilla action during the last phase of the war.

The "U-Boat" was to penetrate German schools, sport clubs, religious and cultural associations during the occupation, to insure a reserve of nazi fanatics long after the armistice was signed. With the Russian advance into the Eastern province of the Reich, the local units obtained special priorities to be evacuated and disseminated in zones presumably Russian-proof.

Fear of the Red Army pushed into Western and Southern Germany many of the prominent survivors of the nazi regime. Together with local crops of nazis in Northern Germany, the Rhineland, Bavaria, Würtemberg and Baden, they form a group of experienced civil servants and skilled administrators eager to

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offer their services to the understaffed administrative machinery of the Allies. Thus the Western Powers more than the Russians are faced with the problem of protecting the new political set-up in their occupation zone from former fascists who now claim to be the only elements on which a new and democratic Germany can be built.

The recent arrests were timely. But the appointments of mayors and governors in certain parts of Germany have already shown how successful the nazis have been in stressing their technical skills and minimizing their political responsibilities of the last 12 years.

In numerous German cities in the West, leading industrialists and businessmen have organized themselves informally into advisory councils to appoint the least suspected among them as liaison officers to the occupation forces. The taking over of I. G. Farben by the Americans is considered by German industrialists as a temporary measure which will sooner or later lead to a series of legal complications because of neutral and Allied claimants, which they hope will discourage violent changes in the property structure.

The announced policy of prosecution of war criminals has not yet thrown the Nazi business world into a state of jitters. They will sacrifice Streicher, Ribbentrop, Goering and some German generals; they will not plead for arrested SS commanders of concentration camps. If they can only save enough of their financial and economic strength, they hope to find new SS leaders and new generals in the next German generation or among the homecoming prisoners of war.

Germans in the Anglo-American-Franco zone have quickly discerned the confidence certain allied leaders feel in political parties with ostensible religious leanings. The nationalistic statements of Count von Galen of the diocese of Münster and of Pastor Niemoeller have been ignored. It is not difficult to foresee that political and trade union organizations with pseudo-religious attributes will become the safe haven of fascism during the years of occupation.

As long as totalitarian régimes are permitted to exist in Spain and Portugal, there is hope for the top-ranking nazi survivors such as Krupp, Flick, Speer, Zangen, Körner and many others. The news from Greece hardly discourages the anti-democratic elements all over Europe. Counting their strength in Italy and their protectors in Sweden and Switzerland, they must come to the conclusion that democracy in Europe still can be stopped by an orderly retreat of anti-democratic forces to the more secure realm of purely economic manipulations.

Fascism in Germany and Italy appeared, at least on the surface, as a national movement. The fascist régime of Pétain and Laval was clearly a product of the invasion.

Fascism in France was closely modeled after the German Nazi Party and the Italian Partito. There were more than a dozen other collaborationist formations, some with a long-established anti-democratic history.

French bankers and industrialists, as well as the Vichy régime, financed and encouraged these movements and their para-military units.

The people of France could act quickly against the "fascist small fry," those who had sold themselves to the invader for a few francs. The collaborationist bankers and industrialists, those who occupied leading positions in the economic life of France, are another matter.

Directors of the *Banque Worms,* of the *Banque d'Indochine,* the Messieurs de Wendel, André Michelin, Schneider and Ernest Mercier of the French electric trust, to give only a few prominent names, supported fascist and semi-fascist movements before the war and willingly collaborated during the occupation. Today they and their ilk are ready to make a few strategic withdrawals to save their key positions. They were not disturbed by General de Gaulle's promise at Lille on the first day of October last year, that "the State should take over the direction of the great sources of the common wealth. . . ." They know that before this can be done legally, the constitutional life of France has to be restored, and in the meantime they can reorient their United Nations business connections and fortify their position among the Christian Democrats, the newly created political party alliance of the right.

The fascist and semi-fascist political movements surviving in liberated Europe carefully avoid calling themselves fascist or nazi organizations. They choose a patriotic, democratic or Christian party flag. They hypocritically pledge their allegiance to the ideals of the United Nations. The men whose careers offer too clear a fascist picture have gone underground, disappeared or stay quietly in the background. They expected a much deeper and more energetic cut in the criminal ranks of European fascism. If they succeed in retaining a vestige of their former economic influence, they will soon be able to bid for more power and reappear in strength on the political surface. Fascism in Europe will remain a potential danger as long as the basic elements which produced it continue to exist.

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Postwar Relaxation II

the lesson of the potato

A Story by Arnold Sundgaard

This is another short story about that amusing chap Torvald, and once again he "starts something" with a telephone call. The author is a well-known playwright with several hits to his credit. A new play of his, "The Great Campaign," is scheduled for late fall production.

MOST of the time Torvald calls our house rather early in the morning but last week it was after ten o'clock at night when I heard the telephone ringing. We can always tell when Torvald is on the line because the bell assumes a more insistent tone and the ringing itself is considerably louder. I hurried to answer but even before I could put the receiver to my ear Torvald was shouting, "Well, you've got to take my place, man. That's all there's to it. You've got to help me out."

"Help you out of what?" I asked. "Are you in jail?"

"Hell, no, I'm not in jail," he said. "I'm laid up in bed. Doctor says I can't move for a week."

"What on earth happened to you, Torvald?"

"The sacks were too heavy. I didn't know my own weakness."

"What sacks are you talking about?"

"The potato sacks, of course. You know people are helping with the crops this year, don't you?"

"Yes, but I didn't know you'd been doing it."

"Everybody's doing it," he said. "I'm surprised you haven't offered your services."

"But I just lost my job the other day. I'm waiting for reconversion to set in."

"It'll never come in if you wait for it," he said. "You have to help with the crops instead. That's part of reconversion."

"Yes, but look what that kind of reconversion did to you," I said. "It almost broke your back."

"It's not just my back," he said. "I got sunburn, bruises, blisters and chafing between the legs."

"I'm sorry to learn that," I said.

"Don't say you're sorry, man. There's enough sorrow in the world without creating more. Just go out to the farm tomorrow and tell them you're taking my place."

"I have to go to the employment office tomorrow."

"What for?" he asked impatiently. "Isn't picking potatoes employment?"

And then without listening to my protests he told me where he had been working and how I could reach the farm. "Ask for Mr. Platko," Torvald said. Just tell him Torvald sent you." And then Torvald hung up.

As I started to return to the living room I could hear Charley Anderson, who had dropped in for the evening, explaining a new scheme of his to my wife. It seems that Charley had temporarily given up his idea for making atomic automobiles and was concentrating on a construction project instead. Well, not exactly construction, but in that general direction. He had heard of a fellow who had developed an idea for lowering buildings below the street in case of atomic air raids in the next war. He was describing it all to my wife.

"When those new bombs start coming over," Charley was saying, "the big problem will be to get the buildings out of the way in a hurry. This fellow has invented an elevator which drops the building below the ground until

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everything is over. You just push a button and zingo—down goes your house!"

"Yes, but what will you do with such a scheme if the elevator is already invented?" my wife asked.

"Well, they've got to have somebody to dig the holes, don't they?"

"Yes," my wife said, "I suppose they do."

"That's where I come in," said Charley triumphantly. "My job would be on excavation. In a big city you'd need holes fifty to sixty stories deep. I'd set myself up in business just digging big holes."

"How can you dig a hole as deep as that?" my wife asked.

"Oh, I haven't figured out the details on it yet. But maybe I could use the atoms for that, too."

I walked into the room and my wife said, "That was Torvald, wasn't it?"

"Yes, it was," I told her. "Poor fellow, he's laid up in bed and wants me to take his place."

"In bed?" she asked.

"No, picking potatoes!"

"How can he pick potatoes in bed?"

"He's not picking them in bed," I said impatiently. And then I explained how he had gone to work for Mr. Platko to help get the crops in but had hurt his back and chafed his legs instead.

"Well, are you going to replace him?" she asked.

"Of course I am," I said. "Torvald would never forgive me if I let Mr. Platko down at a time like this."

Charley continued to talk about what a great future lay before him digging big holes when I said, "Why don't you come along with me, Charley? It would do you good to get out in the country for a few days."

"Me?" he asked foolishly, as though picking potatoes would give him some rare disease.

"Yes, you," I insisted. "It's good work and it's patriotic."

"Patriotic?" he echoed. "Didn't you know the war is over? They don't even play the "Star Spangled Banner" any more."

"Yes, but people still have to eat. And it's up to us to help out if we can."

"Well, I suppose the fresh air would do me good," he said. And then the thought of adventure suddenly swept over Charley and he forgot about digging sixty-story holes and set his mind on digging potatoes instead. He said he had a pup tent left over from the last war (the war before the last was what he really meant) and he would take that along and camp right out in the fields until the crop was in. I assured him we could come home at night but he insisted he would make a real trip out of it and help the farmers at the same time.

Charley was in high spirits as we set out for the farm the following morning. He had the pup tent strapped to his back along with some blankets, a lunch bucket, a mosquito netting and several containers of K rations his nephew had mailed him from an army camp the year before last. "This will be a good chance to use these K rations," he told me. "They've got all the vitamins a man needs for this kind of work."

A truck with Mr. Platko's name on it was waiting at the railroad station for us. Charley was disappointed in this because he had hoped for a brisk jaunt through the countryside before starting work. However, we accepted this convenience stoically and rode to the edge of the farm where we introduced ourselves to Mr. Platko. He showed us where we could get some baskets and bags and then assigned us to a young Negro named Harry who was in charge of a small group of pickers.

The rows of potatoes stretched endlessly across the countryside. Scattered at intervals along the countless rows were the pickers who had already started work, but there seemed to be precious few of them for the enormous size of the field.

"How will you get all the potatoes picked with so few pickers?" I asked Harry.

"That's what Torvald worried about, too," Harry said. "He worked like a demon to do it all at once and finally broke down before noon of the second day. We had to carry him off the field like an injured football player."

At that moment I felt Charley tugging at my sleeve. He motioned to me to follow him to the side of the field where I asked, "What's the matter, Charley?"

"Well, look for yourself," he said. "Don't you have eyes?"

"All I can see are potatoes," I said.

"Yes, but look who's picking them."

"What about it?"

"You don't catch me working with Negroes,"

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he said. "Things haven't gotten that bad for me yet."

"Charley, don't be ridiculous."

"And that fellow Platko. Did you notice that accent he had?"

"So did your father have an accent, Charley," I told him.

"That's different," he said. "You don't catch me working for anybody like that. Let them pick their own potatoes."

Charley went over and picked up his pup tent and the K rations and started to walk away.

"What's the matter?" asked Mr. Platko. "Did you forget something?"

"I forgot it was Thursday," Charley said.

"What's wrong with Thursday?" Mr. Platko asked.

"I never like to start a new job on Thursday," Charley said sarcastically. "It's bad luck." And with that he turned and walked down the road.

"I guess he doesn't like to work with Negroes, is that it?" Mr. Platko said when Charley was gone.

"I'm afraid that's right," I said.

"Well, that's the way people are," he said slowly. "But shucks, a man has to work some place, don't he?"

I didn't quite know what Mr. Platko meant by that. I left him and followed Harry out to the fields. Although the work was not easy, Harry showed me how to find the potatoes in the dirt and taught me the easiest way to get them into the bag. I liked the way he helped the other workers and by noon I had caught the knack of it and enjoyed the work very much.

We ate our lunches beneath the trees and when we were through Mr. Platko came over to me and said, "Well, how do you like the work?"

"It's pretty hard," I said, "But I'm glad I came."

"Can you drive a truck?" he asked.

"I can drive a car," I said. "I suppose I could drive a truck, too."

"Good. This afternoon you can drive a truck. It's much easier."

"Thank you," I said. "I think I'll like that."

"Yes," Mr. Platko said. "We always like to give a white man a break when we can."

He walked away and I stood there unable to say a word. Harry, who had been standing near us, turned his face away and pretended he hadn't heard. I walked slowly out to the field and began picking potatoes again. The truck stood under the trees and Mr. Platko called to me. "Hey, I told you to drive the truck."

"I forgot my driver's license," I told him. "I think it's better if I worked here with Harry instead."

I got home rather late that night and my bones ached from the day's work. My wife told me to take a hot bath and get right to bed but I didn't feel like sleeping. I thought I ought to report to Torvald instead. I picked up the phone and called him.

"How are you feeling after the work?" he asked me. "Does your back ache?"

"Not so much as my heart," I said.

"Yes, I understand," Torvald said quietly. "That's why I wanted you to go."

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WORLD TRAVEL

THE WESTERN HEMISPHERE OPENS FOR THE TOURIST

IN the September issue, we agreed to go together along the travel lanes of the world —some of them well-traveled before the war, others off the beaten track — and learn more about this globe of ours. We must bear in mind, as we go along, that the rehabilitation of war-torn areas, as well as the reconversion of transportation to provide the necessary berths, seats, and lodgings, will oblige the would-be traveler to set his compass accordingly.

The Western Hemisphere, which did not suffer the ravages of war as most other areas of the world, is already beckoning the traveler, in varying degree, and will be the objective of our first series. Before going into the details, let us first have a look at the general travel conditions, especially such important matters as passports and visas.

You will remember that in the last issue we strongly urged the Foreign Offices of the United Nations to come to an early agreement on the freeing of travel, which is one of the most essential requirements for the establishment of true international cooperation. Specifically, the red tape of passports and visas, the numerous documents such as police certificates, and the countless forms and photographs required for obtaining many of the visas, may have had their usefulness in a world at war, but from now on can be unduly self-perpetuating for the benefit of certain bureaucratic departments of government.

Many groups and individuals, of which you may be one, have been urging a more liberal interpretation of a person's qualifications to travel in other lands, the main one being that if the traveler is a citizen in good standing in the eyes of his own authorities, he should be as readily acceptable to those of the other United Nations he is visiting. Some type of international identity card might be established in lieu of a passport. It could provide space for the affixing of visas, and the issuing country would be the moral guarantor of the traveler, doing away with needless and costly visas.

On August 28, the Secretary of State amended the United States' Passport Control Regulations to enable American citizens to travel between the United States and any country or territory in North, Central, or South America, or adjacent islands without bearing valid American passports.

This indeed is great news, but there is still a catch. Our neighbors have to reciprocate and say that our citizens may come to their country on a visit without a passport. Incidentally, we are talking about the temporary visitor, business man, or tourist and not the person seeking permanent residence as an immigrant.

Even during the war it was possible to travel

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without a passport between the United States and Canada or Mexico, though for the latter country, passports were required of non-tourists. Now, Guatemala, an important tourist center which has long permitted entry without a passport for visitors traveling with a "tourist card," automatically joins the list and we have just learned that Bermuda, the Bahamas, and Newfoundland have agreed to reciprocate and that Cuba is planning to do the same.

OTHER countries, it is hoped, will jump on the bandwagon, realizing how important the tourist trade is as an export commodity by bringing dollars into their coffers with which to increase their needed imports. Not just a "pleasure" group, these tourists, but a vital cogwheel in the foreign trade machinery of the world.

It is true that before the war temporary visitors from countries of the Western Hemisphere did not require a United States visa for stays of less than six months. However, not until the United States reciprocates in permitting temporary visitors from other countries of the Western Hemisphere to enter the United States without a passport will the recent ruling, which applies only in one direction, have its fullest meaning. May your assistance be enlisted to impress upon your congressman or the Department of State, or the Pan American Union, or even better all three, that the sooner passports are not required at all, the better it will be for every country.

What is the state of transportation in Western Hemisphere travel? In this age of far-flung air routes and warbirds that can be reconverted faster to commercial use than troopships and freighters, the medium for immediate consideration is the airplane. Commercial services were maintained during the war throughout North, Central and South America and the principal air lines are now receiving additional equipment with which to increase their schedules. On October 15, it is expected that all "priorities" will be lifted and, furthermore, in a not too distant future, those lower rates we have been hearing about will open up the air lanes to more and more pocketbooks. As a matter of fact, the rates for passenger planes in the United States are now lower in many instances than the first-class railroad and lower berth fare for the same distance.

The steamer, however, will be back in the picture soon and we can think of no better combination than what was known before the war in the trade as an "Air-Sea" trip. One must get beyond the large coastal cities, such as Rio de Janeiro, Buenos Aires, and Lima, as fascinating as they are, to learn the customs and the economies of the countries to the south, but when it comes to inland travel, in the mountainous areas of Central and South America and in the "big river" jungle areas, the airplane is the thing, though there is many a fascinating trip to be taken by mountain railway and on lake and river steamers.

The Pan American Highway, a gigantic project, which will permit continuous automobile travel from Alaska to the tip of the South American continent, is making rapid progress but, as yet, there are several missing links. Mexico, however, has a comprehensive system of highways, well known to present day visitors, on which the tourist of tomorrow will travel in no uncertain numbers.

A recent press release, attributed to a prominent educator of Lehigh university, stated that the eighth and ninth grade students of this country could well benefit from a three months' travel course within the United States. He also proposed a world cruise for all high school seniors. We want to say more about this excellent idea in a later issue together with data on the United States, but we intended first to concentrate on travel conditions outside this country because while one should obviously know his own country well, the more urgent problem seems to be a better understanding between peoples of different languages and different customs.

Taking some of the nearby islands and countries which responded so promptly to the "no passport" offer made by our State Department, we find the following travel conditions prevailing:

Bermuda

Air services from New York are based on Pan American's one dead-end schedule to Bermuda and back, and one stopover on the transatlantic run each week. Capacity is 50 passengers for each flight. Arrangements are now being made to add extra sections, which should increase the capacity to 280 passengers weekly. The fare is about $80 one-way and $144 round-trip and the trip takes five-and-a-half hours each way. British Overseas Airways is expected to maintain air service twice weekly from Baltimore, starting October 15 with the same rates as Pan American's.

The Furness Bermuda Line maintains a steamer service leaving New York every three

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weeks and accommodating 80 first-class passengers. The trip takes two-and-a-half days and the round-trip fare runs from $80 to $200.

Many of the large hotels that were in war service, such as the Bermudiana, the Princess, Inverurie, St. George, Castle Harbor, and Elbow Beach, are still closed, but the first three will be made available to pleasure travelers soon. The others will open later after refurbishing and conditions in general permit. In the meantime, between other hotels and guest houses there are accommodations sufficient to take care of 700 travelers. Some of the more comfortable ones are the Belmont Manor, in Warwick Parish (which incidentally was open throughout the war), with 150 rooms, the Horizons in Paget Parish, Cambridge Beaches on Somerset Island, Rowley's in Warwick Parish, and Waterloo House in Pembroke Parish. American plan (room and meals) rates generally start from $8 daily.

The Bahamas

There is daily service from Miami on Pan American's 21-passenger planes. The flight takes 1 hour and 20 minutes and the fare at present is $20 one way and $36 round-trip. Steamer service has not yet been resumed.

The hotel accommodations in Nassau, the principal resort center, are expected to reach pre-war strength soon with the planned reopening of the British Colonial, Fort Montague, and Royal Victoria hotels. In the meantime, accommodations are available at the Prince George, Rozelda, and Windsor hotels, the Parliament Apartments, and also at several attractive guest houses, such as Loft House and Cumberland House. European plan (room only) rates run from $3 to $5.

Mexico

This mecca of tourists, and one of the most comprehensive travel lands in the world, kept its doors open to visitors during the war and has been steadily increasing its hotel capacity by building a number of first-class establishments. Because of contiguous borders with the United States, the transportation facilities are numerous.

The Pan American Highway enters Mexico at Laredo, Texas, and is surfaced as far as Tehuantepec, a distance of 1,275 miles. The National Railways of Mexico connect with the Missouri Pacific at Nuevo Laredo (across the border from Laredo), with the Southern Pacific at El Paso, Texas, and with the Southern Pacific of Mexico at Guadalajara—all routes converging on Mexico City. First-class fares with a lower berth and duration of trip come to:

	One-Way	*Round-Trip*	*Hrs.*
NEW YORK-MEXICO CITY	122.08	202.18	78
CHICAGO-MEXICO CITY	96.16	142.78	70
LOS ANGELES-MEXICO CITY	81.04	129.98	76

Though good passenger steamer connections have not yet been resumed, by air there are many services. The one-way fares are lower than rail and the time element is a major factor. For instance:

	One-Way	*Round-Trip*	*Hrs.*
NEW YORK-MEXICO CITY via American Airlines or Eastern Airlines-Pan American Airways	114.90	223.96	18
CHICAGO-MEXICO CITY via American Airlines or Braniff Airways	90.35	174.70	15
LOS ANGELES-MEXICO CITY via American Airlines or Pan American Airways (CMA)	86.00	154.80	12

All air, rail and steamer fares mentioned in this column are subject to the U. S. Transportation tax of 15 percent.

There are other air services from New Orleans and from Miami to Merida, for instance, which bring the famous Mayan ruins of Chichén Itzá and Uxmal within easy reach, and throughout Mexico there are local air services to places such as Acapulco, Oaxaca, and Tehuantepec all of which we shall visit with many others in succeeding issues.

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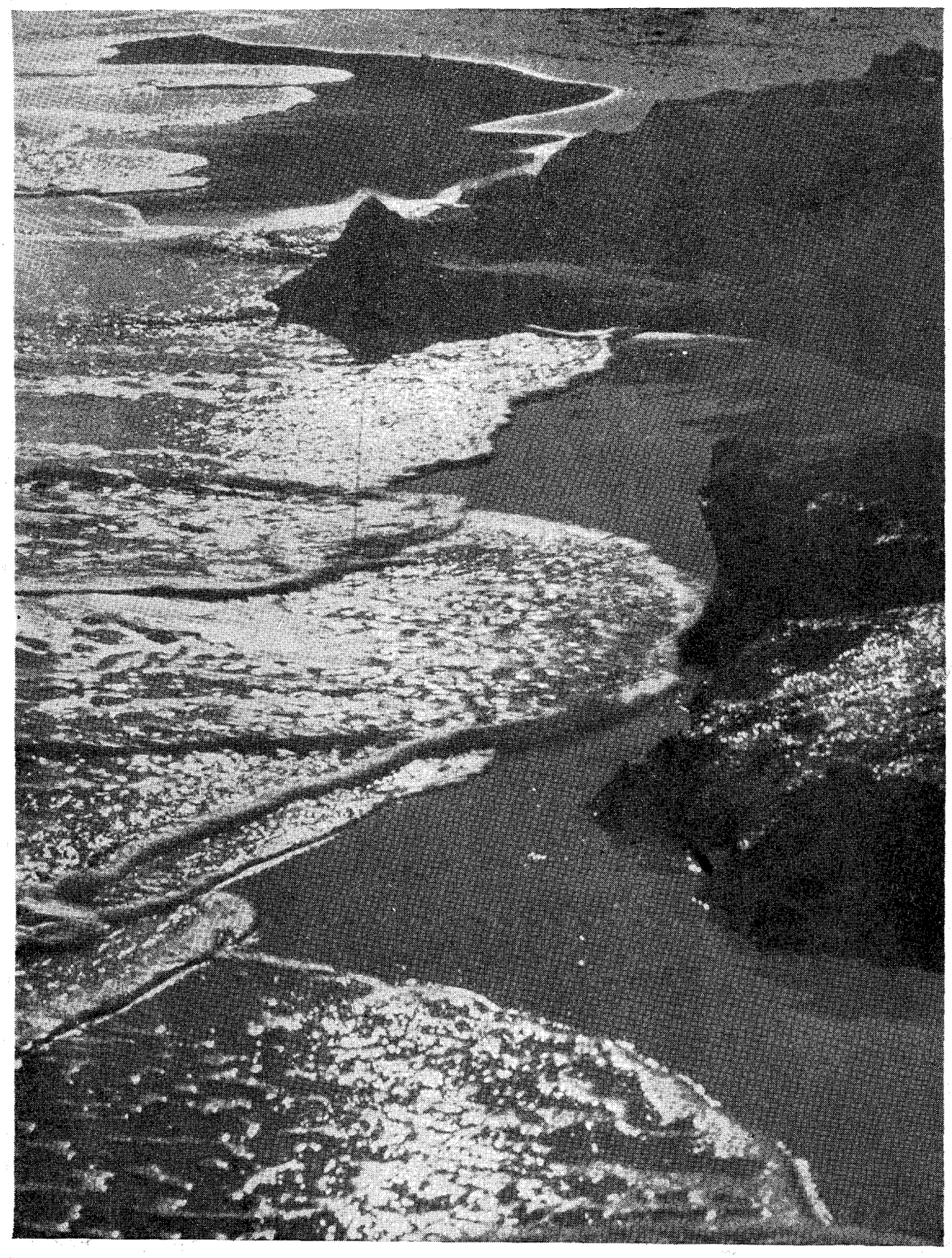

The Western Hemisphere opens for tourist traffic.

Now that all travel restrictions have been removed, Bermuda will soon become again the goal of many Americans. Although hotel accommodations at present are still limited, the beauty of Bermuda's coastline has remained unspoiled, if not untouched by the war. The American military bases, although far from the main island, were built and landscaped in traditional Bermuda style.

Phot. Bermuda News

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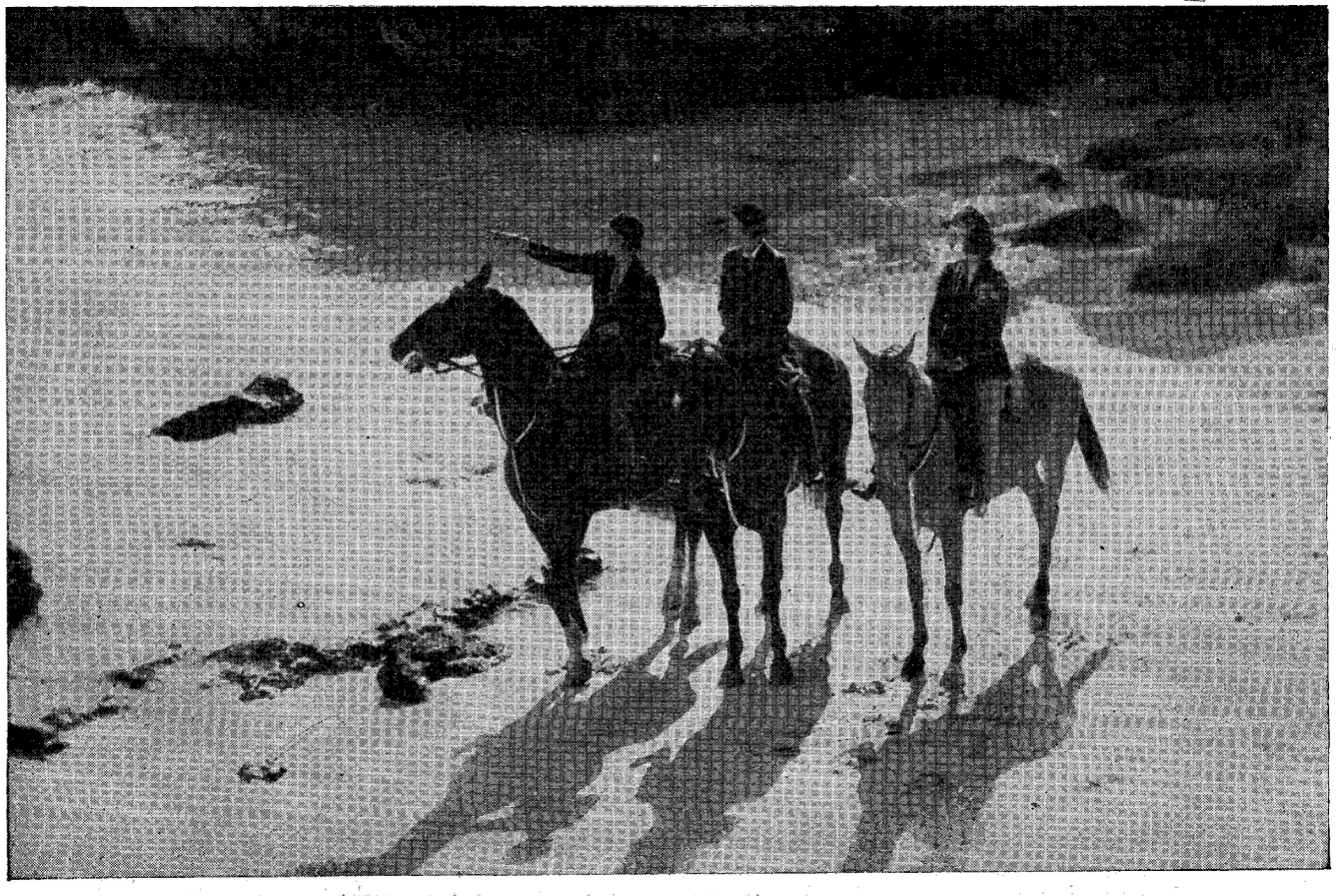
Carriages are scarce in Bermuda because horses couldn't be replaced easily during the War. But bicycles can still be rented for a leisurely spin along picturesque roads, between pastel colored walls or along the coast roads.



But there are enough horses for horseback riders left in Bermuda and there are still innumerable pink coral beaches for those who like to canter along the edge of the crystal surf.

Phot. Bermuda News

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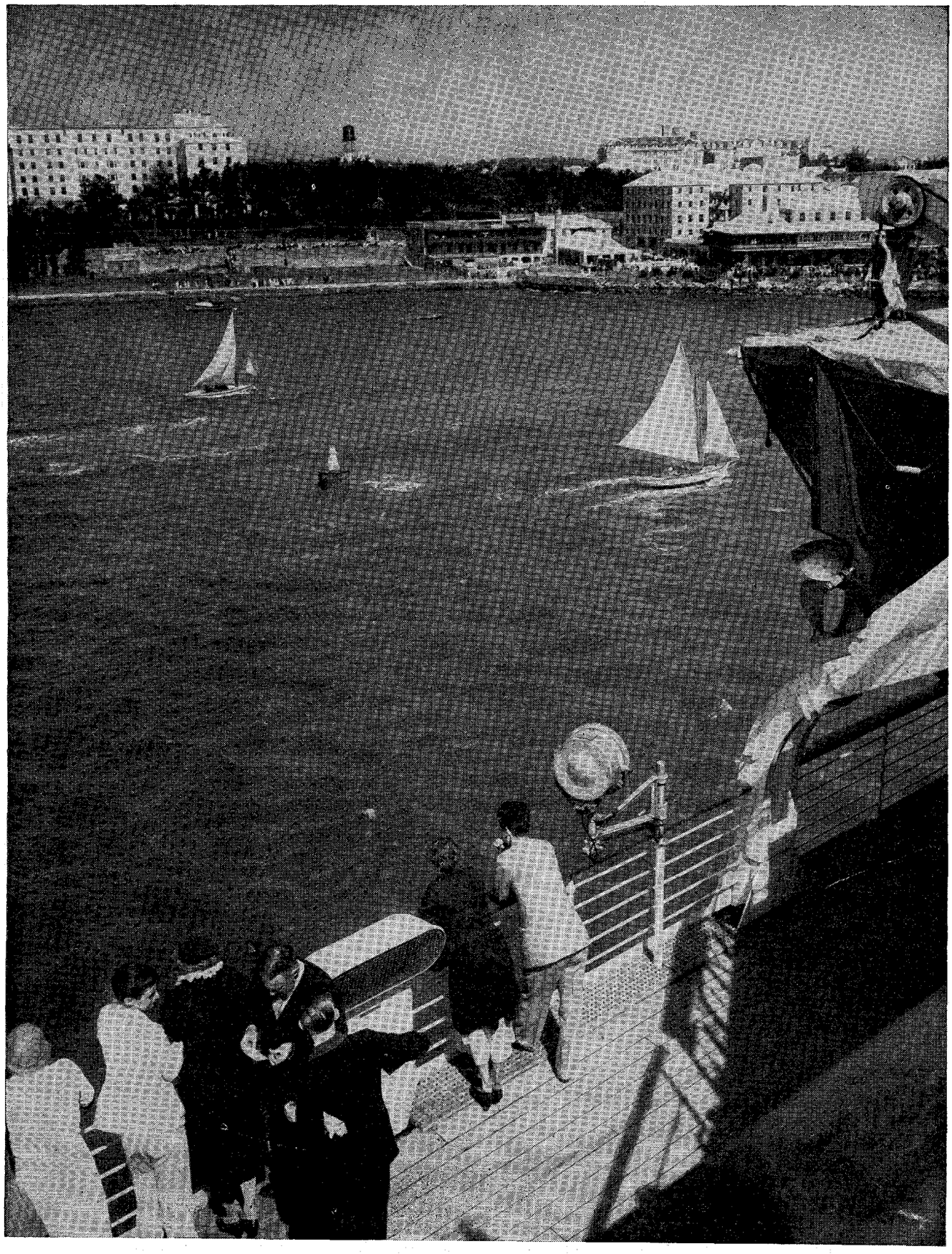

Nassau in the Bahamas has made rapid strides in getting back to its peacetime way of life. The panorama is still the same—as colorful as ever, and the ocean still shading from the green of the shoreline to blue, sapphire and deep purple at the horizon.

Photo. F. S. Lincoln ★

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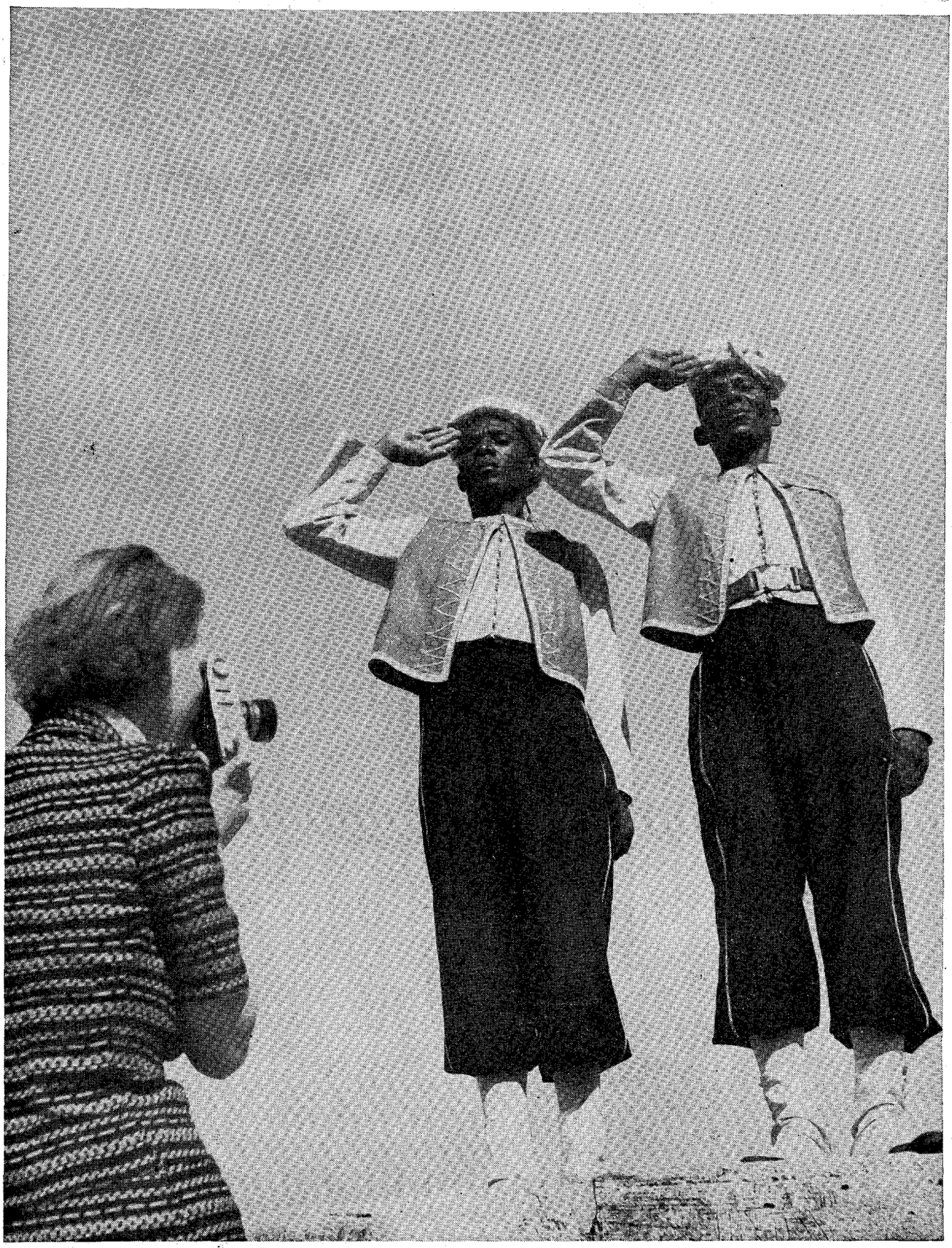

The lure of taking home all that beauty will be irresistible. As soon as cameras are available again and film—even newer and better color film!—is plentiful, the picturesque guards of the old Nassau Fort, in their romantic red and gold uniforms, will become favorite subjects for photography enthusiasts again.

Victor De Palma ★

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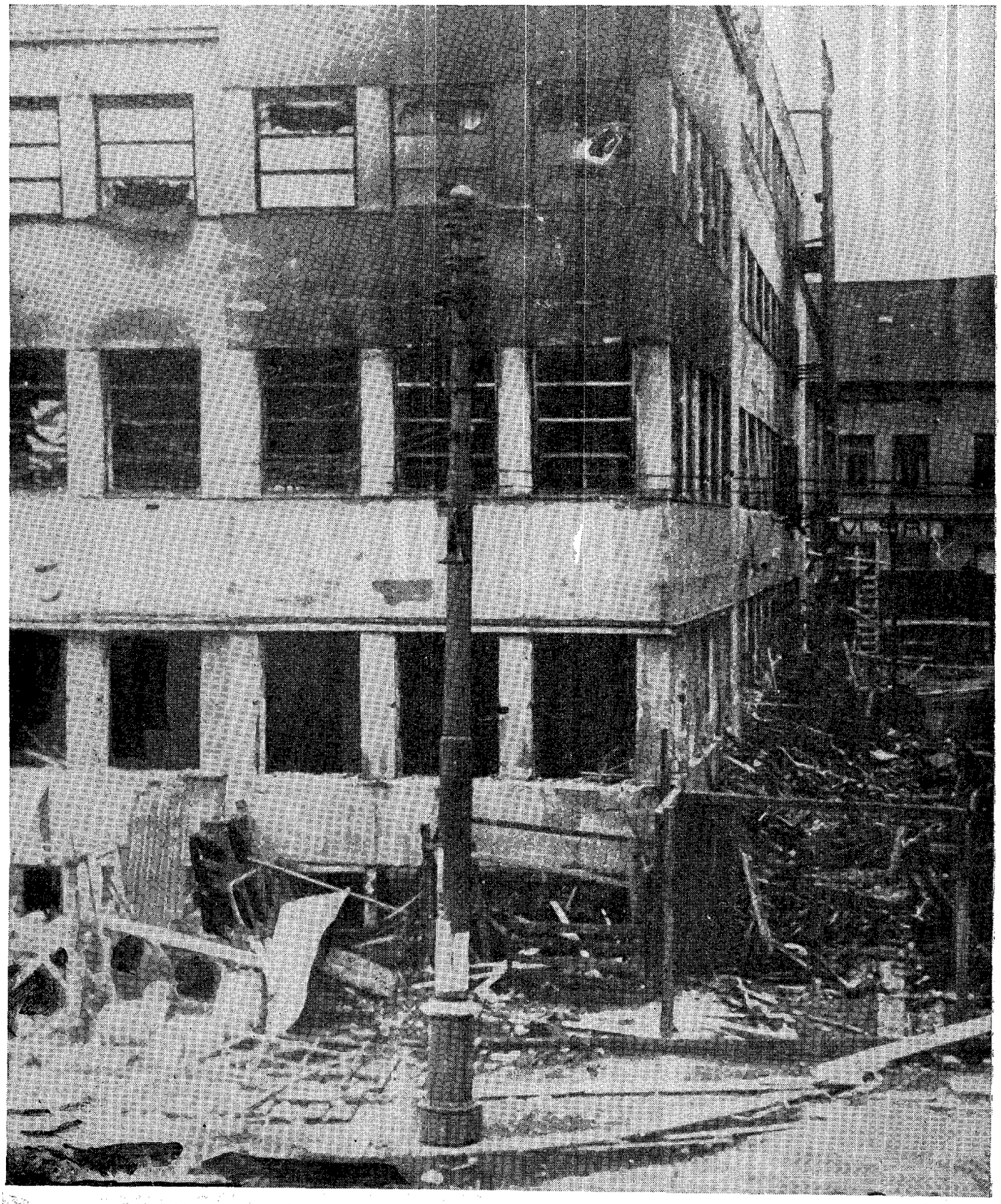
NORWEGIAN UNDERGROUND



How Norway's Underground battled the nazis: Hardly a day passed in Norway that did not find intrepid members of the Norwegian home front engaged in activities designed to keep the nazis harassed and worried. Loyal Norwegians systematically wrecked factories, railroads, and other places of military importance. The famous Moller and Larsen factory in Oslo, which was used by the nazis to make spare parts for planes, was destroyed by saboteurs during a raid that was planned and executed with considerable daring. Now it can be told: Norway's Chief Justice was the leader of the underground.

Official Norwegian Photo

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The nazi police in Oslo couldn't understand how people whom they wanted to arrest had always disappeared "just a few hours ago" . . . If they could have read the story of Norway's Underground on the following pages of FREE WORLD they would have known how . . .

The loyal Norwegians fought with whatever weapons they had—guns or lipstick. It took no little courage for these girls to display the emblems of their contempt of nazis on their bare backs.

Official Norwegian Photo

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The widespread and courageous Underground press played an important part in Norway's fight for freedom. The circulation could be increased so much that toward the end of the German occupation every loyal Norwegian got his Underground newspaper.

The photo shows a typical editorial office where daily news bulletins and broadcasts were received from London or the United States as basic material for the newspaper. If discovered—prison or death was the penalty for such anti-nazi editors.

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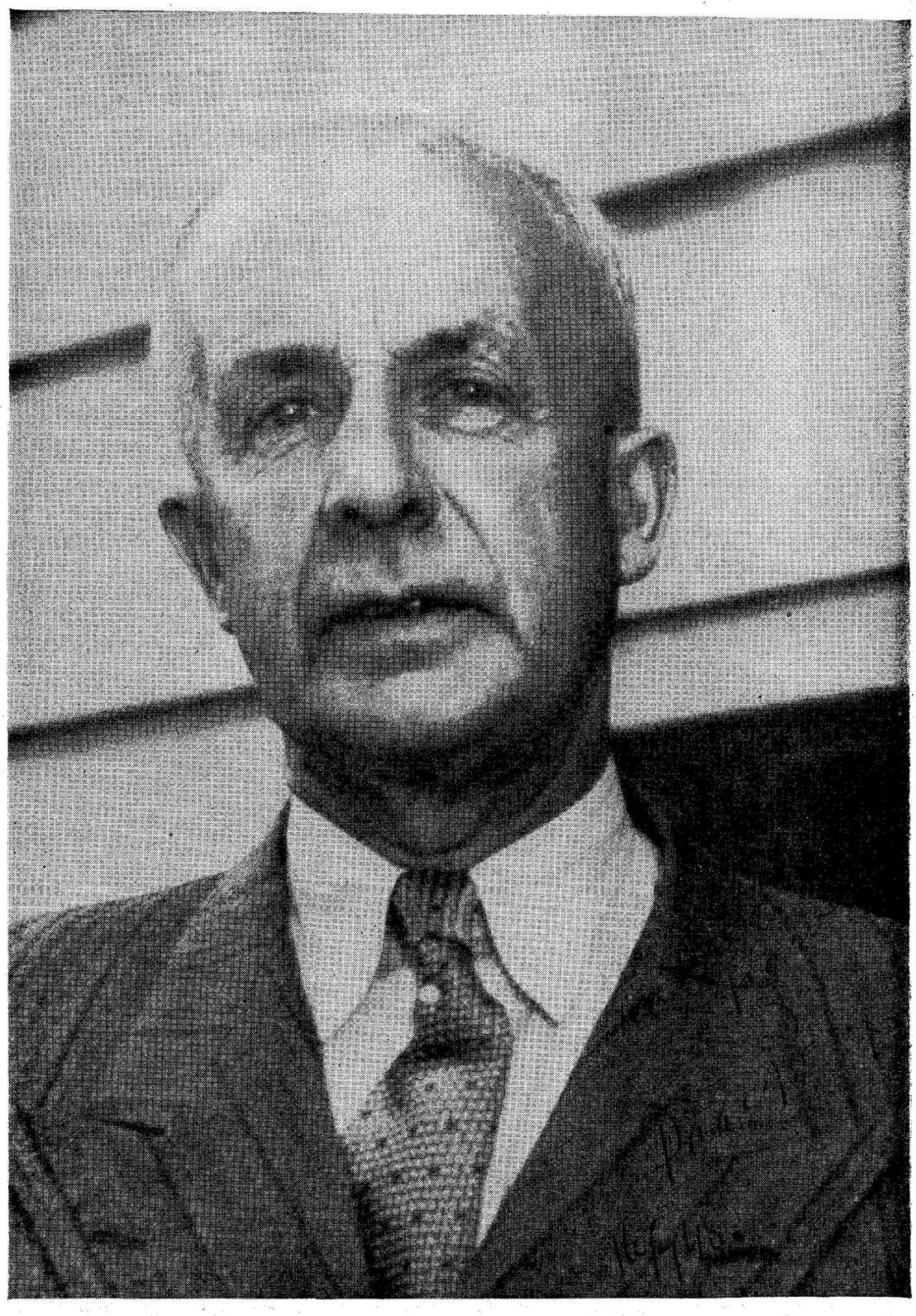

PAAL BERG, soft-spoken Lord Chief Justice of Norway's Supreme Court and chief leader of the powerful and effective Norwegian underground forces, whose remarkable story appears on the opposite pages.

The Gestapo sought for five long occupation years by every ingenious and foul trick at their command to break up and destroy the powerful, effective Norwegian underground forces that outwitted and sabotaged them at every turn. They would have given much to have discouraged the leader, but they were never able even to identify him. Prime Minister Einar Gerhardsen, in his first press interview following his appointment after Norway's liberation, said of this highly venerated man: "It would have been right and proper had Paal Berg become Prime Minister. So far as is possible and practical, my plans are closely connected with those already worked out by Mr. Berg."

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REBIRTH OF A NATION

THE EXTRAORDINARY STORY OF NORWAY'S UNDERGROUND AS TOLD TO ARTHUR A. GOMSRUD

by Paal Berg

NORWAY'S LORD CHIEF JUSTICE AND LEADER OF NORWAY'S HOME FRONT FORCES

IT was a happy Providence which willed that Paal Berg, Lord Chief Justice of Norway's Supreme Court since 1929, should assume the dangerous task of leading Norway's Underground resistance in that country's darkest hour. His high position allayed suspicion. The slight, retiring Chief Justice is not one who stands out in a crowd. But face to face with an audience or an interviewer, or presiding over a crowded court room, the unique personality of the 72-year-old Chief Justice weaves its spell over the listeners. All his life he has been the champion of the little man; as an authority on labor questions he enjoys a world-wide reputation. He fathered legislation for the 8-hour work day in Norway, and was instrumental in obtaining social security insurance for Norwegian fishermen, while serving as Minister of Social Affairs from 1919-20. Although not a politician, he also served his country as Minister of Justice from 1924-26.

It was as champion of the little people that this man who loves peace and shuns the limelight led his people to victory in an unequal battle. Here is Mr. Berg's own account of Norway's underground and its organization, as told exclusively to the writer, and as checked and approved by Mr. Berg.

THE scene is a German police station anywhere in Norway during the occupation. An arrest order is made out against a patriot, who is accused of anything ranging from reading an illegal newspaper to acting in consort with the enemy. Police officers are dispatched to make the arrest. Arriving at the culprit's home or place of business they find that he has disappeared, perhaps minutes before they got there. Occasionally, the police would receive a note from the fugitive, mailed from Sweden a few days later, expressing regret for the trouble he caused them, saying he is fine, thank you, and in good hands.

The scene changes to a Quisling "Cabinet" meeting. New ways and means to force young Norwegians into labor service for the Germans are being discussed. Before the "decree" reaches the department head for whom it is intended, the Intelligence Unit of Norway's Underground is in possession of a copy. Scoring a "beat," more than 200 illegal papers often published the "decree" before it appeared in Quisling's organ *Fritt Folk*, accompanied by a directive from the Home Front leadership on the stand the people were to take.

When German troop reinforcements were urgently needed to support General von Rundstedt's break-through in the "bulge," 1,000 Norwegian saboteurs struck simultaneously, on direct orders from SHAEF, and incapacitated Norwegian railroads so completely that only a few hundred troops could be shipped out of Norway. A similar action was carried out during the crossing of the Rhine.

Forty thousand Norwegian Home Front

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troops, hardened and tanned during months of training in secret camps scattered among Norway's mountains and fjord valleys and armed with rapid-fire Bren and Sten guns manufactured in Norway during the occupation, quietly moved in on the day of Germany's capitulation and took over main buildings controlling Norway's transportation and communications systems, hydro-electric plants and main industries. So efficiently did this force—which Tom Twiddy of the *New York Herald Tribune* called "undoubtedly the most efficient underground army in Europe"—handle the job for which they were trained and had waited so long, that only minor incidents marked the change from German to Norwegian rule. Detailed case records of quislings and traitors, prepared during the occupation by the Intelligence Unit, made simple the job of rounding them up until Norwegian courts can deal with them.

Hatred for the quislings and traitors, and contempt for and ridicule of the Germans were the main weapons employed by all good Norwegians during the long and difficult years of the occupation. This unified feeling of the people against the enemy even extended to the children, who also aided in the sabotage against the occupation forces.

It was obviously impossible for an entire people to become active saboteurs, soldiers or couriers, yet the entire people representing all walks of life and creeds were represented in the ranks comprising the active front.

It became evident early that close contact with the King and the Government in London was of the greatest importance, if the Home Front was to operate with maximum effect in the interest of Norway and our allies. As soon as contact was established, a central leadership operating from the capital was formed, and contacts with the many groups operating independently throughout the country were made. A short outline of how the organization was set up and a description of the duties of the various branches and units should prove enlightening.

THE Home Front consisted of two main branches, the Military, controlled from London in cooperation with the Allied High Command, and the Civilian, of which I was the head, operating from Oslo.

Under the Military branch were the following groups: The Fighting and Sabotage units, the Supply unit, which handled the importation and manufacture of weapons within Norway, ammunition and food supplies for our secret military camps. The Communications division, which directed all illegal radio work within Norway, and relayed and received messages to and from London via radio, or by courier across the Swedish border. Our very efficient Intelligence system also came under Communications.

The Civilian branch was directed by the Home Front leadership. Under this branch belonged all labor, professional, religious and political groups. The Home Front leadership was in effect an arm of the legal Free Norwegian Government in London. We supervised the Underground press, and issued orders and directives to the people, which were published in the illegal papers and broadcast from London by shortwave. The Home Front leadership also approved or amended orders formulated by the Government in London, which pertained to Norwegian activities outside of Norway. We guided and timed Home Front resistance so it might be brought to bear upon the enemy with maximum effect.

The home forces had about 100,000 members, of whom 40,000 were armed with Bren or Sten guns, or Krag-Jorgensen rifles salvaged after the capitulation of the Norwegian forces in 1940. It also had much equipment that had been stolen from the Nazis. Some units had

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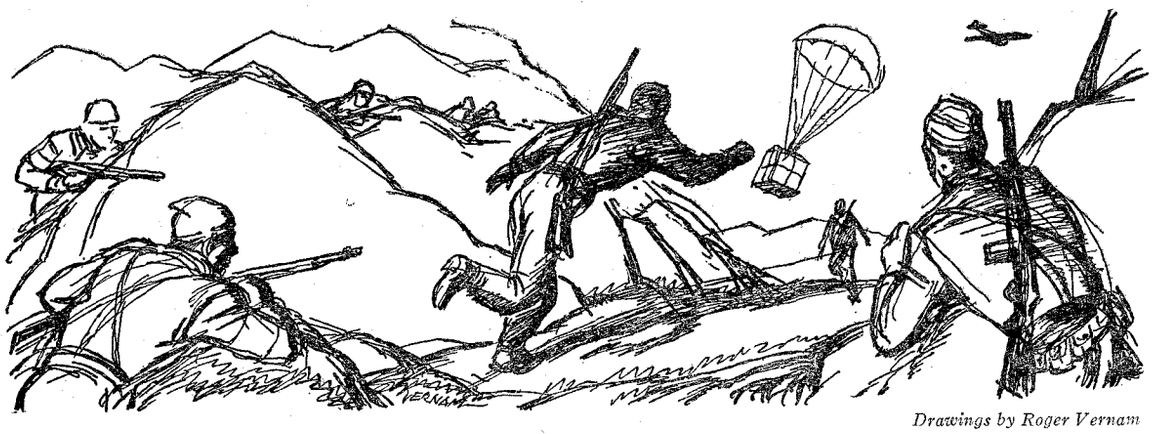

Drawings by Roger Vernam

"bazookas" and Panzerfausts, the famed German anti-tank gun. They were also well equipped with ingenious field equipment, radio units and special supplies indispensable to an illegal army. Their uniforms were a heterogeneous lot: British battledress, ski pants and jackets, pre-war Norwegian soldier uniforms, heavy ski boots. The only uniform part of the uniforms of this army was an arm band of the Norwegian flag.

Twelve thousand members of this force paraded in review before King Haakon in Oslo on "Home Forces Day," June 9th. On this occasion, the Home Front paid its respect to the memory of the late Captain Martin Linge, who first coordinated the resistance movement with the Allied High Command. Captain Linge was killed during a British-Norwegian raid on Maaloy Island, between Bergen and Aalesund, in January 1942. Through Captain Linge's efforts, the Norwegian Independent Company, better known as "Noric," was formed. A unit of this company was called the "Round Trip Boys." Trained in England for special missions in Norway, these boys were dropped by parachute and, as soon as their missions were completed, returned to Britain via Sweden. One "round-tripper," fifteen years old when he escaped from Norway across the North Sea in a stolen cutter, had made 41 successful trips. These men were always uniformed when engaged in sabotage or raids. Despite their status as soldiers, the nazis shot them on the spot when they were captured.

TO impart an over-all picture of how and why the Norwegian resistance movement operated with such great efficiency it is necessary to deal with and describe the functions of each separate unit. Starting with the illegal press, it has been estimated that more than 200 illegal papers were issued and distributed throughout the country, with a total monthly circulation of 600,000 copies. Since every copy was passed on as soon as read, it is safe to say that the illegal newspapers reached practically every Norwegian, as well as the quislings and Germans. The press was well equipped, technically and journalistically. A doctor's office, a basement room or private home might serve both as composing room and editorial office. Standard office equipment included, in addition to radios, typewriters and dictaphones, a revolver which always lay handy on the editor's desk.

Sixty-one radio stations ranged over the country, never remaining long in one spot. As the Germans improved their direction finders, the operators were forced to move at a moment's notice. Many were caught and shot, especially during the fall of 1944. Some operators underwent plastic surgery operations to continue in service, and all had to change names frequently, as well as identification papers, passports and ration books. Signatures might be forged, but the stamps were genuine, having been stolen from German control offices.

The courier activity between occupied Norway and neutral Sweden began with illegal mail as early as 1940. Later, much of the mail consisted of important micro films. The connection between the two countries was organized like a relay. Daring young men carried goods and mail from Stockholm to the Norwegian border. By passwords they contacted good Norwegians who relayed the mail into the country or to Oslo. With the help of the courier service, 30,000 patriots, hunted by the Gestapo, escaped into Sweden. Norwegians abroad whose presence was needed in Norway, or others carrying information so important that it could only be trusted to memory, were also brought in by the courier service.

The transport arrangement between the two countries was as intricately organized as any railroad system, complete with routes, schedules and time tables. Thousands of routes were

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established; as soon as one was discovered another was pressed into service. Swedish daily papers and a weekly bulletin published at the Norwegian Legation in Stockholm were freighted in by railroad in bundles camouflaged as commercial goods. Small radio sets no larger than a man's palm, as well as weapons of many types, were regularly smuggled in from Sweden. Every month, a million Norwegian kroner slipped across the Swedish border to aid in the work of the Underground.

MILITARY intelligence in Norway was closely tied in with the work of the Communications group, which for a time had the colossal nerve to have their headquarters next to the nazi propaganda office and the offices of Quisling's organ *Fritt Folk,* with a clear view of the Gestapo prison at Moller Street Number 19! The Home Front infiltrated into nazi organizations in a hundred ways. We had one good contact in a German officer, a member of General Falkenhorst's staff, who tipped us off to the arrest order of university students. He also gave us other valuable information. Bundles of mail to Quisling and his ministers often landed on our desks, to be opened and checked before they were returned to the addresses. Mail from our headquarters was sent safely to branches throughout the country through the regular mails. Loyal contact men in the post offices saw to it that our letters never got to the German censor. Patriots, posing as nazis, worked in every important transportation and communications office. Our men drove German troop trains, they were interpreters in German police offices; they were everywhere.

One of the Norwegian Underground Posters used during the occupation: "The Day will come!"

Our intelligence was greatly aided by one thing the quislings and nazis had in common; their greed for money. The nazi or quisling who could not be bribed did not exist. The Home Front leadership received, among many others, a report from a source that had always proved reliable, that a high-ranking German in the Reichkommissariat accepted 120,000 kroner to release a prominent Norwegian shipping man, and that one of Quisling's ministers paid 200,000 kroner for the post. If the job was worth that much, there must obviously have been more money in it! Quisling's yearly salary was 240,000 kroner, plus a tremendous expense account. The restoration and decoration of his castle "Gimle" outside of Oslo cost 6,000,000 kroner! His ministers' salaries were 18,000 kroner per year, besides a 30,000-kroner tax exemption for representation. In addition they were given automobiles and chauffeurs. A bill paid by the state for automobile repairs for one "minister" amounted to 100,000 kroner!

The Norwegian Home Front received invaluable support from the United States Air Transport Command. Commanded by Colonel Bernt Balchen, famed polar flyer, pilots of the A.T.C. freighted food, ammunition and supplies to Home Front forces during one of the most critical periods in Norway's struggle. In the summer of 1944, when Norway was an all but forgotten front, many detachments of the Resistance had been isolated in the mountains without supplies for months. During July, August and September, this American unit made 67 flights over Norwegian territory. Despite the light summer nights and bad weather, close radio contacts between the hidden Norwegians and the Allied High Command made it possible to drop tons of supplies without meeting serious German opposition.

The secrecy which surrounded the identities of the Home Front leadership, and which was not revealed until after Norway's liberation, is but another indication of how well the organization was set up. True, some of the leaders were arrested, some died in German concentration camps. But the Germans never learned of their connections with the Home Front leadership. Among those arrested or placed in concentration camps were the present Prime Minister, Einar Gerhardsen, who spent almost

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three years in camps in Norway and Germany. Gunnar Zahn, new Minister of Finance, was held at Grini. Bishop Eyvind Berggrav, even while interned, was active in the leadership through a trusted contact, a pastor. Supreme Court Justice Ferdinand Schelderup, with whom I worked closely, was forced to flee to Sweden. Halfdan Johnson, prominent trade union leader, died in a concentration camp in Germany.

I was arrested once, after a raid on my house in February, 1941. The house was searched from attic to basement. The four civilian Gestapo men found nothing. However, the cunning super sleuths removed my typewriter and some well-used sheets of carbon copy papers, in the hope they and the typewriter roll might reveal incriminating evidence. To make doubly sure, they also took me along. After two days in a solitary cell I was released. Neither the carbon papers nor I revealed anything that could be used against me. As for my short stay in jail, I did not particularly relish it. But after I was released I rather enjoyed the experience, and thought it well worth while to one who, on a number of occasions, had sent more desperate criminals to jail for a more extended stay.

As I look back upon the darkest five years in Norway's history, and think of the role it was my privilege to play in the country's deliverance from the nazi poison, the gestapo torture and the Judas, Vidkun Quisling, it is with humble gratitude and unbounded admiration for 99 per cent of the Norwegian people that I resume my seat in the highest court of the land. Faced with persecution, privation, cold and near starvation, and face to face with an armed force of 300,000 Germans which made every fourth grown man an armed enemy, they never gave up. They never lost faith. They never even complained. With all due respect to every man who fought Norway's battle, gun in hand, I pay humble respects to the little people who did not even have bread.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR:

Arthur Gomsrud, who transcribed this exclusive story of the man who led Norway's underground fight against the Germans, is a Norwegian by birth and has been in this country since 1923. Until recently he was on the staff of the Norwegian Information Service where he acted as news and radio script writer, translator and public relations man. Lord Chief Justice Paal Berg, on a recent visit to the United States, gave Mr. Gomsrud the material on which this heroic story is based.

Shall we have a well-fed World?

by T. Swann Harding

MORE people in the world are working at the production of food than in any other industry, yet for years, while two-thirds of the world's population was engaged in producing food, two-thirds of the world's population was undernourished. That is why we are to have an international Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO).

Various Federal Government agencies made surveys of the nutritional status of citizens of this country sometime before the war. These surveys indicated that at least one-third of our population subsisted on subnormal or inadequate diets. They were confirmed by polls of the Institute of Public Opinion.

In May 1941, at the call of the President, a National Nutrition Conference for Defense was held in Washington. This Conference stated: "Recent dietary studies among large groups representative of the people of the United States, clinical studies among smaller groups, and the examination of men called up for military service, show clearly that poor diets and malnourishment are widespread."

The findings could have been duplicated in every nation in the world, even those having very high living standards, like the Scandinavian countries. Frequent surveys had shown that the people of the British Isles were underfed. The nutritional status of natives and others in far-flung colonial empires was shameful. At no time in world history have all people had adequate diet.

The National Nutrition Conference then suggested that the newer knowledge of nutrition be put to work in this country. It is still a fact though that many people who do not lack means to buy food, live on inadequate diets through

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carelessness or ignorance. They can be reached by educational means, but many others could not afford a sound diet today even if they knew what it was.

It is also a fact that we have the techniques and resources to produce and distribute enough food to provide an adequate diet for all the world's teeming millions. But who should decide what each country would produce and how trade relations should be organized?

The next step here was the holding of the United Nations Conference on Food and Agriculture at Hot Springs, Virginia in 1943. This represented an international effort to ascertain what foods the world was producing, what foods it could produce, and how these foods might best be used.

The Conference essentially devoted itself to a solution of one of the problems mentioned by the late President Roosevelt under the Four Freedoms—Freedom from Want. Its working committees consisted of experts in agriculture and nutrition. The Conference agreed that, with recent progress in the sciences of agricultural production and nutrition, there was no longer any real excuse for any human being on earth to go underfed.

It also concluded that the time was at hand to better the condition of rural populations everywhere in the world by cooperative action undertaken to secure more efficient production and distribution of agricultural products. We must remember that since farmers form the largest unit of the world's working population, farmers suffer most from malnourishment.

Soon after the Hot Springs Conference, an Interim Commission on Food and Agriculture was established in Washington. Its job was to formulate a specific plan for a permanent organization in this field. Delegates to it were designated by all the United and Associated Nations. It convened in July 1943 and made its report a little over a year later.

By that time it had formulated its specific plan. Its proposed Food and Agriculture Organization has now been approved by 20 of the nations involved, and its first meeting will be held in Canada on October 16th. The purpose of the organization is to see that the world's population, two-thirds of which has never had enough food, is properly fed in the future.

Surplus Food—and Hunger

YEARS ago old Malthus believed that world population would grow so rapidly it would starve itself out, at least in part. But Malthus scarcely understood modern agricultural techniques. It never occurred to him either that a nation at peace would be plagued with "surplus food" while part of its people were undernourished, or that a nation could produce and consume food during a global war at a vastly greater rate than while at peace.

Today we can belie Malthus' prophesy if we care to do so. In his time seven to nine out of every ten persons capable of working were engaged in agriculture. It required that many people, a century or more ago, to supply bare subsistence rations to various populations. Today not one person in five in the United States works in agriculture, yet we can flood the "effective" market with food any time we care to do so.

Today the world's population presses hazardously upon the existing food supply. But those who know most about such matters know how to produce enough to feed all people everywhere adequately. Yet the pressure has not been relieved anywhere to date, not even here.

FAO has three essential jobs. It will seek to raise the level of nutrition and the standards of living in all countries. It will try to improve the efficiency of the production of food and of all agricultural products. It will endeavor to better the condition of all rural populations everywhere. Thus it will aid an expanding world economy.

FAO is not endowed with mandatory powers. It can merely make surveys, advise, and request action. It can interfere with no nation's sovereignty. It will handle no huge sums of money. Its annual budget will build up to about five million dollars a year, toward which the United States will contribute about one and a quarter millions.

It will perform the invaluable service of getting accurate statistics on food production and consumption the world over. At present there are no such accurate statistics. It will, at the request of various nations, make surveys of their agricultural techniques and their nutrition standards, and then advise on the solution of their problems. Results of following this advice will be reported to FAO. It will have a staff of technical experts of its own.

Hence FAO's primary service will be in the fields of statistical and technical aid. By seeing the world situation as a unit, it can best grapple with international food problems. It can thus suggest solutions which will forestall serious national and international difficulties. Its services will help greatly in providing a basis for planning production and marketing programs.

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wanted:
A UNITED NATIONS RADIO

by WENDELL SETHER

The author has been chief of the OWI propaganda analysis section in New York, adviser for OWI in London, and chief editor of ABSIE, the American radio station in England, which was the voice of SHAEF during the Allied operations on the Western front. He has been a student of political science, journalism and economics since his college days at the University of Southern California.

IN Norman Corwin's eloquent V-E Day broadcast, *On a Note of Triumph,* the G.I. of any army asks as he stands victorious on the battlefield, "What have we learned?" The world has learned many things in the war against German, Italian and Japanese fascism, but none is, perhaps, more important than that freedom of news and free aecess of all peoples to the news are essential to the maintenance of peace.

We cannot afford to allow new Hitlers and Mussolinis to build walls of censorship around their countries, and in the vacuum behind those walls to pervert news and destroy thinking. It took a costly global war to teach us those lessons which many people had known since the beginnings of the struggle for human liberty. It is victory indeed that millions of people now know that lesson.

World-wide freedom of news became an American war aim, as Kent Cooper of the Associated Press has said, and as a peace aim it has produced some good results already. Through President Truman's efforts, Poland, Bulgaria, Hungary and other eastern European countries have been made available to the working press. News channels will be opened in other countries as well, and in the near future there will be few countries where correspondents will not be allowed to gather news freely and send it abroad.

But the mere fact that correspondents are allowed to ply their trade in a country, which, for instance, has a more or less controlled press, will not necessarily mean that the people of that country are going to get more truthful news in their daily newspapers. In many countries the news which foreign correspondents are allowed to gather is sent out of the country without ever appearing in the local press. In Spain recently the United Press correspondent A. L. Bradford interviewed General Franco and recorded some curious remarks which Franco made about liberalizing his government. Franco's remarks were made solely to impress the democracies and the interview was printed widely in the British, French and American press. It was only some days afterward that the Spanish domestic radio got around to referring to it obliquely and a few Madrid papers cautiously quoted a sentence or two. Foreign correspondents in Spain no longer have to submit their stories to censorship, but freedom of news does not exist for the Spanish people. The same might well be true of many other countries in Europe, Asia and Latin America.

Some means must be found to make honest, objective news flow both ways, both out of and into a country. Many ways were used by the psychological warfare agencies of the Allied nations to penetrate Goebbels' insidious wall of censorship and oppression, such as the radio, leaflets, underground newspapers, and secret agents. But of these, only the radio is suitable in peacetime to vault the barriers of censorship and bring truth to news-hungry peoples.

A proposal for an international radio station that would broadcast full, unbiased, truthful news accounts of all United Nations' events has been made by Noel Newsome, former director of the BBC European Service. He states that such a station would be an "indispensable" part of the international peace machinery.

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With this, I and many other Americans who were intimately associated with wartime broadcasting in Europe heartily agree.

It is true that a good deal of objective broadcasting is now being done in Europe. The BBC's European Service, which has merited well the praise of European patriots and resistance fighters who said its broadcasts of the truth kept alive the spark of liberty during the grim days of the occupation, still radiates its messages from London. The U. S. State Department's Interim International Information Service, successor to the Office of War Information, still is the Voice of America, which broadcasts by shortwave from New York and by relays on long and medium waves over the BBC and Radio Luxembourg. Radio Moscow still speaks with cold logic against fascists wherever they are. The neutral radios of Sweden, Switzerland and Turkey still broadcast world news to Europe.

BUT none of these is a truly international radio. Although the BBC, the Voice of America, and Radio Moscow have been generous in their reporting of the United Nations Conference and have contributed many hours of air time to the cause of international understanding, these radio channels were created as instruments of national policy. Each has its specific task of advancing the interests of Great Britain, the United States and the Soviet Union, respectively. And even though each of these three great nations takes the view that its own interests can best be served through wholehearted support of the United Nations Charter and Organization, the handling of United Nations news by the British, American and Russian stations will necessarily be a secondary commitment.

The opinion has been expressed by some observers that one contributing factor to the failure of the League of Nations to maintain peace was its inadequate public relations. During the years of the League's influence, the majority of its activities remained unknown to the average man. It was only in times of crisis, when it was too late to rally public support for the League in many countries, that the League became a headline news story. Only when Geneva was the scene of international tensions and debate did reporters and editors fill their papers with news of the League.

During the years preceding the Manchurian, Ethiopian and Hitler crises, the League was not sufficiently identified with the interests of the majority of the people. Its broad social welfare activities were relatively unknown, and even the average American citizen was not aware of the extent to which his government was participating in some of the League's agencies. Consequently, millions of people whose support of and interest in the League would have influenced their representatives' decisions in the League's meetings failed to give that support.

It seems extremely important to prevent such a misfortune from falling on the new United Nations Organization. This lesson from the history of the League shows the value of an international radio station, or stations, operated by the United Nations Organization either through its Secretariat or through one of its "specialized agencies" dealing with education. Plans are already being made in London for a continuation of the United Nations Information Office which functioned during the war as an agency for collecting and disseminating information for various allied governments. Radio broadcasting could be part of its job if this agency were retained by the Secretariat as its information division.

During the last months of the war, Europe actually had an international broadcasting station when Radio Luxembourg was operated by SHAEF's psychological warfare division. Programs were produced by Americans, British, French, Belgians, Czechs, Netherlanders, Italians, Germans and eventually Russians, and according to Newsome, who was its director, the station won a vast audience throughout Europe by virtue of its non-nationalistic inspiration and tone.

The United Nations radio should be set up as soon as the organization has funds to make it possible. It should acquire Radio Luxembourg, the most powerful long-wave station in Europe, and key stations in each of the other continents and link them up by shortwave. Its duties would be to broadcast full news accounts and eyewitness reports of any event of importance in the United Nations to the entire world.

"Freedom to listen" was one of the liberties denied by the fascists in every country they despoiled. Now that peoples everywhere are free to listen, the possible audience of a global United Nations radio would be tremendous. A radio which would advance the interests of no single nation and would be known for its objectivity and reliability, would be a major force in encouraging a United Nations consciousness throughout the world.

It would be one of the necessary things to make the United Nations Charter work.

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PROGRESS OF THE STRUGGLE

How can we become reasonable?

NORMAN ANGELL

THE peace is yet so young that at the writing of these lines the end of the war has not yet been officially proclaimed. Yet, how multitudinous are the differences which have already loomed between those who yesterday were allies fighting in a common cause.

Looking around at the world from the vantage point of America, one takes in, at almost a single glance, the following possible collisions between different policies:

The first is the Anglo-American difference over Lend-Lease. Perhaps it comes down finally to the question of what are the common charges of the war. Ought the costs borne by Britain in the first eighteen months of the war, before Lend-Lease, to be taken into account in the final settlement? Such points can end in tragic difficulties. But until yesterday the differences with Russia were regarded as much more important. The common American attitude was that with Britain there were basic understandings and a similar scale of values, which were lacking in the case of Russia. And differences with Russia involve the final fate of Poland, on behalf of whose defense the war began; of Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, Austria, Yugoslavia; the final settlement of the German problem itself, what sort of Germany at long last is to emerge from the war. Leaving aside for the moment the problems of Iran, Iraq, the Dardanelles, the Adriatic, and the Mediterranean, we come to China with all its possibilities of civil war which would inevitably involve Russia on the one side and the American disposition of Japan (now to be governed by the United States) on the other.

They are all cases, perhaps, for the United Nations Charter. But the United Nations Charter is an instrument, not a cure. It can only be a cure if wisely used. The instrument of the surgeon may become a murderous tool if used with bad judgment by a man who has worked himself into a raging temper against his professional colleagues; or who has no belief in asepsis.

The Charter first of all offers a means of discussion and deliberation. But agreement upon differences will be made more remote than ever by discussion unless on the part of the participants there are certain agreed assumptions, as that the differences are not insurmountable; that the participants do not enter with the determination that each should stand by his own pre-judged case to the last gasp; that each shall be ready to weigh with intellectual honesty and integrity the case presented by a rival.

Toward such underlying assumptions we have made some progress. Very few persons today regard war as inevitable, or inherent in the nature of things, as it used to be regarded all but universally. It is no longer argued, for instance, that nations must "expand or starve;" or that war is the "struggle for bread," the *lebensraum* argument that was so very common a generation ago. It is now pretty generally admitted that nations do not need to control politically the areas from which they get their food or raw materials, since the producers of those things are in times of peace only too ready to sell them, to exchange them, that is, for things which the producers need.

* * *

It was not true, as so many in Germany used to argue, that colonies were a vital economic need, with the implication that to secure the wool of Australia or the mutton of New Zealand

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Germany must "own" or govern those countries. After all, it was pretty evident that even if the German flag had replaced the variant of the British which flies there, Germans would still have to pay for the wool or the mutton, just as the British have to.

In other words the interests which were so commonly regarded as in conflict were in the main mutual interests. It was not true that in the economic processes of exchange, one party's gain was the other's loss.

IT is the paradox of economics that so often what a man produces can only be turned into wealth if he gets rid of it. The Welsh miner cannot eat his coal. To turn it into food, he must exchange it for say, the butter of the Dane who needs the coal, or for the coffee of the Brazilian who would find coal a better fuel than surplus coffee.

Nor is it true that nations commonly enrich themselves by annexations, for the peoples of little states who have taken no part in the annexing business for a very long time, are usually the people with the highest standard of living, as witness the peoples of Switzerland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway. Such peoples were in the years of peace both highly prosperous and highly civilized and they had no empires, no colonies, nor did they want any.

So little is it true that an empire insures riches, even to the capitalists, that Britain, "owner" of the greatest empire of history (and none of it has been "lost" in the war) now faces extreme poverty. Her people will this winter go cold and hungry. They are heavily burdened with debts owed to the peoples of her own "possessions."

This obviously has some bearing on an oft-repeated assertion of the past—which added so much to misunderstanding—that "capitalism makes war inevitable." If the British capitalists engineered this war (or the previous one) for the purposes of profit, there seems to have been a miscalculation somewhere—part of the miscalculation possibly being the presence of a socialist government on the very morrow of victory in Great Britain.

* * *

Nor are British capitalists alone in a conduct which throws new light on the relation of capitalism to international conflict. The United States is still a capitalist country (though like all capitalist countries its capitalism is becoming rapidly socialized), but it was not its capitalism which brought it into two world wars. Indeed it is interesting that the isolationist forces which opposed American entrance into either of the wars were largely capitalist forces, aided, however, curiously enough by considerable numbers of socialists, and, for a time, of communists. And though for very long it was a firmly held theory that capitalists pushed their governments to war as part of the competition with the capitalists of other nations, one of the chief accusations now brought against the capitalists of the immediate pre-war era was that they tried to appease, that is, maintain peace with, Japan and Germany instead of preparing for war with them.

Nor is it true that capitalist nations and socialist nations cannot live at peace with each other; that one system or the other must prevail throughout the world. The war itself proves that nations of very different social systems can find a common purpose sufficient for close cooperation. The capitalist United States gave generously of its riches in order to promote a purpose which included the right of Russia to remain a communist state; and the sacrifices of communist Russia have helped America to retain so much of the vast stores of wealth with which American capitalism has endowed the country, instead of having to expend real wealth (to say nothing of life) on a much longer and more costly war. And if capitalist America can reconcile its policy to the perpetuation of communism in a dictatorship Russia, it can presumably do as much for the milder socialism of a parliamentary Britain.

* * *

IN other words, it is not the vital interests of men which bring them into armed conflict. Wealth, welfare, security from violence, order, peace, these things can only be achieved by cooperation, and cooperation itself demands peace. It is so often said that at the root of war lies selfishness. Yet war is the least selfish activity in which men can engage. It demands that they shall, literally by the millions, give not merely their wealth but their lives. A man cannot give his life from motives of selfishness. Nor is it true that men would not make these sacrifices unless they were forced to. The most dangerous fact about a world which possesses the atomic bomb is that there are in it (as the kamikaze suicide pilots of Japan and the more fanatical of the nazi soldiers have demonstrated again and again) men by the thousands who are prepared to blow themselves to pieces on behalf of a cause which they believe to be sacred, but which others regard as satanically

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evil. That difference is usually a deeply sincere difference.

This is the kind of conflict which will in the future constitute the greatest danger; not mainly the conflicts of material interest. These latter can usually be resolved because, in most of them, there is an underlying mutuality of interest, an interdependence which can, with even a modicum of rationality, be clearly demonstrated. But a conflict of conviction, creed, doctrine, theory is infinitely more difficult to resolve. Men will hesitate to war upon whole populations, wiping out helpless civilians, for mere material gain. The material question must by some means be turned into a moral one, a difference between right and wrong. If men are to die to gain an outlet to the sea so that trade may be increased, then the cause must be presented in moral terms, as part of "the fight for right," the right of the fatherland, the welfare of its children, its future glory. Wars could not be waged in modern times for the individual soldier's share of the material benefit, the loot.

Into the discussion of moral questions we feel that it is legitimate for emotion, passion, partisanship, hatred, to enter. The man of opposing conviction or opinion therefore soon becomes, not a man who is mistaken, who has reasoned erroneously, misjudging the evidence, but a criminal of consciously evil intention, defending from selfish motives a cause he knows to be unrighteous. From the very moment that sort of feeling dominates both sides, it becomes impossible for either to see the case of the other, or objective truth, visible fact and phenomena. As the "passionate and righteous conviction" increases on both sides, so, of course, does the chance that the atomic bomb will be dropped with the resultant final catastrophe.

HOW are we to meet such a situation, to bring our differences to the level of reasonableness and toleration?

Not by harping eternally on the terror of the bomb and the agonies it will inflict.

For more centuries than it is possible to estimate, men believed in the existence of an actual hell as part of the hereafter where those of evil lives languished in everlasting torment and agony. The doctrine was often rationalized as necessary for good behavior here on earth: unless the threat of a literally hellish punishment was held over men, they would indulge their lusts without limit, and the world would be given over to ungovernable anarchy and evil.

What finally put an end to the rack and tortures, and the wars of religion, was a greater rationalism, a greater toleration; a new attitude toward the heretic of contrary belief; a new temper. Something similar must mark now the discussion of the political, social and national differences which divide us, and which, without the temper of reasonableness will precipitate us into torments far greater than those inflicted by the worst inquisitor, convinced as he was, that he did the will of God.

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THE ATOMIC BOMB

AND HUMAN RIGHTS

by

Anabel Parker McCann

The author of this thoughtful article is a newspaperwoman of long experience. For many years she was a feature contributor to the "New York Sun" and other Eastern journals.

ALL mankind is today confronted by two staggering questions as a result of the new atomic discoveries. The first question is whether the vast, newly released energy shall be used constructively or destructively. In all quarters can be heard the sentiment that the hope of the world lies in constructive use of this marvelous power. It is the common man who must decree with Draconian inflexibility, that the power of this mighty giant shall be unleashed only to serve the peaceful pursuits of civilization.

If it is possible to educate coming generations of Germans so they will see the fallacies of the "master race" ideology, it should be just as possible to educate all mankind, in the interest of its own continuing habitation on earth, to forswear the use of atomic force as an instrument of death. It should be possible to open his eyes to the desirability of an irrevocable determination that it shall, instead, serve him in the development of a civilization of greater fulfillment.

The second question posed by the new discoveries is: In what framework of social conditions can the energy of the atom be constructively employed so that it may inevitably—as a procedure of cause and effect—tend to build a better human society?

It may sound highly imaginative to tie up the atomic bomb implications with far-reaching possibilities for a Utopia. If such a dream for the future is warranted, it must be based on practical decisions made "as of today," and the new discoveries must eventually become the greatest power for progress that man has ever possessed.

It would seem that no philosopher or social scientist is needed to point out that for the ultimate good of all peoples, all humanity should have equal rights to the service of atomic energy. Only so, can the hoped-for results come to the world.

Brilliant minds in many nations and through many centuries have mapped out social structures which they felt would insure human well-being. Their ideas and ideals have, in turn, left an impress on humanity and have been one of the creative influences that have moulded history. If the use of atomic energy is to start man off on a new era of development, on a sort of final trek that will bring him to a dreamed-of Golden Age, it would seem to be his profound obligation to study his individual relationship to this new era. It would seem that he must wish to have some share in planning for safeguards that will enable the new agency to serve the race in the most effective and complete way. Man has a newly acquired birthright whose munificence he has not before consciously recognized.

Like the air, the water, the land under his feet, this new power has been set out for him by nature for his use and benefit. But he has

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had to discover its value as he did the value of coal and iron and oil. Shall he now permit this inheritance to become an instrument of monopoly and exploitation? Or, shall he erect barriers against such use, so that its benefits shall be enjoyed by the sons of man everywhere?

Probably, if Henry George were living, he would point out that man has now been given a supreme opportunity to profit by his past error in relinquishing control of land through the centuries and this has been a factor in his economic insecurity. One can imagine him saying: "Now is the moment for the human family to safeguard its newly discovered inheritance so that mistakes of the past shall not be repeated."

AGAINST the proposal itself that man should limit even the financial benefits from the use of atomic energy to his personal enjoyment, the rejection of "socialism" or "communism" may be raised. But clear thinking should establish the conviction that such comments are not properly descriptive of and do not apply to this new situation. According to President Truman's announcement, the people of the United States have spent the sum of two billion dollars to make atomic energy available for human use. Who, then, will venture to say that these spenders—these investors—are not in all fairness entitled to any and all resulting benefits? This, surely, would be in line with accepted capitalistic practice. These investors should take the measures necessary to protect their own future interests and secure the full profit on their investment.

If this applies specifically to the citizens of the United States, it may be hoped that they have sufficiently at heart a desire for "the brave new world."

* * *

They should be willing to spend another two billion dollars, if necessary, to assure a more complete knowledge of this great force, but they should lay down the condition that all benefits and emoluments shall come back to the world community as one organism or family and not be used for the benefit of special groups. One may even envision, without too great skepticism, some possible as-yet-unthought-of world economic structure caused by the universal use of atomic power.

The discovery of the possibilities of human control of this power brings an entirely new feature into man's relationship to his world. It gives him hitherto unrecognized and unexercised human rights and calls for definite protection for these rights.

The proposal is herewith advanced that the right of man to control the use of atomic power through some international agency of his own choosing should be the first "right" to be enumerated in the International Declaration of Human Rights that was provided for at the Chapultepec Conference last March. It should also be made the first article in the Declaration of Human Rights which is being drafted by the United Nations Economic and Social Council.

These "rights" of man have been variously characterized as: fundamental, basic, essential, inherent, natural, primary. Our own Declaration of Independence lists them as "inalienable" and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizen, as "imprescriptible."

* * *

IT is evident that these "rights"—sometimes called "freedoms"—change with changing social conditions. There was no occasion for an affirmation that a man must be protected in the exercise of his religious beliefs until organized religion came into existence. Procedures for collective bargaining would have had no meaning until collective bargaining itself became an industrial factor; there was no demand for a free press until the newspaper and the radio became part of daily living; women did not call for a suffrage amendment until they were organized to secure their full citizenship rights.

The Committees from the Chapultepec Conference and from the United Nations Conference, which will each be charged with drafting an international Bill of Rights, will have the benefit of the formulations that have been made by specialists in the fields of law, social science and religion. A few of the various "declarations" that were sent or carried to San Francisco by their proponents and presented to the Conference are referred to here. A summary of their content may key the reader's thinking toward whether some new "right" or "rights" in control of atomic power should now be put forward for inclusion in the proposed international bills.

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Americans United for World Organization sent to San Francisco the "Statement of Essential Human Rights." A committee of twenty-five outstanding experts in law, in government and in procedures for social well-being prepared the "statement" after eighteen months of study. Most of the principal cultures of the world were represented on the committee which was assembled on invitation of the American Law Institute. This "statement" is based on the proposition that "the one objective that is big enough and specific enough to be common to all men is the welfare, the dignity, the inviolability of the individual human being." It declared that the individual is "the supreme value of any society." It not only calls for the traditional "freedoms of speech, religion and assembly" but emphasizes "the right to work" and the "duty" of the state "to take such measures as may be necessary to insure that all its residents have an opportunity for useful work." It makes similar provisions as to food and housing and education.

Among those influential organizations that sent either urgent memoranda to the Conference calling for the issuing of a Declaration of Human Rights, or that forwarded carefully formulated "declarations" or "statements," were the International League for the Rights of Man; and the Massachusetts Committee for World Federation, which called for a "World-Embracing Bill of Rights as the moral and spiritual foundation on which all governmental authority must rest." The Twentieth Century Club, which organized a special International Bill of Rights Committee; the Executive Committee of the American Federation of Labor; the Civil Liberties Union; the American Committee for a Democratic World and the Universities Committee of the Post-War International Problems were also active.

The last-named group issued for general circulation an illuminating analysis of bills of rights from the Magna Charta up to the present time, written by Professor Quincy Wright of Chicago.

Other organizations that worked in this field were the Commission to Study the Organization of the Peace, and various bodies representing the three major religious faiths. Student groups formulated their own ideals and outstanding individuals lent their influence to strengthen the force of this demand. Dr. Eduard Benes declared: "I believe that after the present war, a chapter of human rights must be constitutionally established throughout the world." H. G. Wells called for a declaration as "the fundamental law for mankind throughout the whole world."

The Free World Association published a complete "Constitution for the United Nations" containing important human rights provisions. Women also joined in the crusade. In this country, The National Council of Women issued a manifesto urging the formation of a commission on human rights. In London, at the celebration of International Women's Day last spring, presided over by Megan Lloyd George, a charter of the rights of women was drawn up to be presented by Anthony Eden at San Francisco. This demanded "A world free from want and fear . . . decent health services and houses fit to live in."

THE average citizen may say "I agree that the world is facing a problem that means more for man's future happiness and more for civilization than any other problem he has ever faced. But what can *I* do about it? I am without wealth or influence or political power. Who would pay attention to what I might say?" To which, an answer might be: "Remember the maxim *'In Union There Is Strength.'* "

We, the plain citizens; we, G. I. Joe and John Q. Public; we, Mrs. American Housewife; we, the youth of America; we, the workers in office and shop, in fields and on the farm, can each make a job of it. The first step is to try to make our own community conscious of its new rights and its new responsibilities. If a few determined souls in every community set to work to do this, it will not be long before there is an activating, vital public opinion. This opinion can make itself felt on the leaders of both political parties and on the national law makers, demanding of them unequivocal political and legislative action for safeguarding the newly proclaimed "sovereign rights" of the world community. It can insist that control of atomic energy by cartels be prohibited and that its use be conserved solely for universal human welfare.

Local group effort, if intelligently organized, will soon enlarge to national proportions. A dynamic and concerted movement in the United States should set an example for other peoples and expand into a world demand that the stupendous gift shall serve only man's economic and spiritual well-being.

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SWISS "HOSPITALITY"

by
HELVETICUS

You'll not find the little Swiss town which is the subject of this article in your Baedecker, and the Swiss, themselves, are not advertising it to the tourist trade. It's a place, however, you should know about, for what goes on in this community is everybody's deep concern.

DID you ever go through the narrow streets of Bern? Perhaps you did, but certainly you have never heard of a little place called Witzwill. Witzwill? Sounds like two sharp cracks of a whip. No, don't look on your map. You will not find it there. Just believe me, there is a place called Witzwill, and from now on don't trust maps too much.

Well, I'll take you to this place. Suppose you are in Davos. Let's take the train to Bern. There we change and wait for another train which goes to Champion. This is a little station just where a great plateau opens before your eyes. The name of this plateau is Seeland, and it stretches between the lake of Neuchâtel and Bienne. There we have to leave the train and walk.

If you really follow me you will look at me in surprise and ask, where are the high mountains, the valleys, the clear brooks, the friendly hotel managers? Are we still in Switzerland?

And you will hardly believe me when I say, "Certainly we are." For here are only dismal swamps, cut by canals of sullen, turbid water. The air is humid and the sky is clouded.

Do not be impatient, we will not walk too long. Now, do you smell the penetrating odor of putrefying organic matter? Here the city of Bern dumps its garbage—high mountains of garbage and trash. Between the heaps of rubbish you see men working. Come nearer and look at them. See how sweaty and dirty they are; heads shaved but beards uncut. These men—you have guessed already—can only be criminals and Witzwill a penitentiary.

Let's go to the director, perhaps he can tell us what kind of men he has under his supervision.

"Formerly," he will explain, "they sent us only real criminals here. But for the last few years we have also had a number of foreigners, men of all nationalities and even some without nationality."

You will ask him "What's their crime?" and the reply will be, "Oh, I don't know. They escaped to our country from some concentration camps in Vichy, France, or from slave work in Germany. The tough ones who were suspected of being political trouble-makers, mostly Reds, were segregated and some of them got here."

Is there no difference in treatment between these men and those who have been condemned by a court to hard labor? The director of Witzwill will look at you, a little bit embarrassed, when he continues, "They have to submit to the same discipline because at least here equality must be achieved."

Not long ago a Swiss writer visited the penitentiary and wrote a Christmas story in a Geneva newspaper. He described the modern methods of the penal institution and the efforts to re-educate the inmates.

The men work from seven o'clock in the morning until six o'clock in the evening. You have seen where, and what kind of work they are doing—digging drainage ditches in the swamps, sorting garbage which is sold as food for swine, separating metals and paper from the rubbish for salvage. And doing a good job of it, too, because Witzwill doesn't cost the State a cent; on the contrary it makes a respectable profit every year. Yes, the administration is very proud of the production effort in this little settlement on the border of the swamp.

Let's try to speak to the men. Hurry, it is four o'clock and right now they have a rest

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of twenty minutes. There they are, sitting on the ground. Not far from them is the guard, a husky, red-cheeked farm boy.

"Hello. May we speak to the men? The director gave us a written permit to talk to the foreigners."

The guard looks suspiciously at our faces, then at the paper. He mutters, "Go ahead."

The men on the ground appear depressed and unhappy. Two of them are speaking in Polish. They look at us in amazement. We try to explain who we are and find that they speak a little bit of French, too.

"How did you come to Switzerland, and how did you come to Witzwill?"

One of them answers:

"In 1940, during the retreat, we lost our outfit in France. To escape German captivity we crossed the Swiss border. Having surrendered individually, they sent us to a jail for several months. We never saw a judge, just stayed in prison. One day they took us away from there and brought us here."

DO you see this little dark fellow who in spite of his filthy clothes looks so dignified and almost proud? He speaks to us in broken English that has a Latin accent. During the Spanish Civil War he fought on the side of the Republicans in the Garibaldi regiment. After the fall of Barcelona he fled to France, was interned, escaped two years later, crossed the Swiss border, was arrested and sent to Witzwill.

"I am lucky," he says. "They let me stay here. Others have been sent back to be picked up by the Gestapo."

"But," we protest, "this is the country which is the home of the International Red Cross. There are statistics proving that tens of thousands of Hitler's victims have found temporary haven in this neutral republic."

He looks at us and says in a resigned voice, "Are there statistics on the thousands of poor devils who have been turned back by the frontier police?"

The Swiss guard interrupts our conversation. "Hell," he exclaims, "we are a small country. How can we take care of all the hungry and miserable people of Europe?"

We walk over to a young man sitting alone. At first he doesn't seem to understand, but when we assure him that we are only gathering material for a short story, he smiles while he searches for words.

He is from Odessa and was taken prisoner by the Germans. A couple of years ago he escaped hard labor in southern Germany and crossed the Swiss border. He was held in the terrible jail of Belchasse together with criminals and political prisoners. By the end of 1942 he was sent to an internment camp in the Aargau Canton. The chief of the camp, a notorious fascist, mistreated the interned Russian and Yugoslav prisoners of war.

"You may think this cannot be true," he continues. "You will say escaped prisoners of war, especially in Switzerland, must be treated according to the Geneva Convention and you know that other allied internees are living quite decently in little Helvetia. But we, the Russians, are looked on with suspicion. At the Aargau camp we got insufficient food and insufficient pay for our work. One day we collectively protested. As a result some deputies in the Swiss Parliament asked the government a few embarrassing questions. They were reassured with strong denials. A man in Geneva wanted to help us by sending Red Cross parcels. He was accused in some of the newspapers of using his humanitarian activity as a shield for political propaganda.

"The chief of the Bern Bureau for Internees visited us in person, and replied to all our complaints, 'Conditions in Germany are worse. You did not die there, you will not die here.' Later on a few who they must have thought were the organizers of a hunger strike were transferred to penitentiaries. That's how I came to Witzwill."

The guard blows his whistle. The twenty minutes are up and we must go.

WE walk back to the station through the swamps and the mud. The sky is cloudy and the air is humid. We are silent. We are thinking of a beautiful country where the mountains are so high and the sky is so low, where the villages are so clean and where the tourists from all over the world are welcomed by a hospitable people. We think of the director of Witzwill and the managers of the hotels, all so efficient and kind.

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Nationwide AMERICAN OPINION POLL

THIS poll, conducted exclusively for FREE WORLD by the National Opinion Research Center of the University of Denver, represents a cross section of the views of the general public throughout the United States, at all economic levels, concerning problems of national and international significance. Last month's question involved, to a certain degree, the delicate problem of national sovereignty, and how much of it nations should be willing to relinquish for the sake of the common good. A few years ago the thought of any nation giving up even a small part of its sovereignty would have been violently disputed. Today, the realization of the great need for a world organization designed for peace has affected our former attitude deeply, and this new world-outlook is convincingly expressed in the results of last month's poll.

Our Last Month's Question:

Do you think countries should get together in the world organization to decide how big an army, navy, and air force each country can have?

The answers. 78% of Americans want international armament control.

Only 14% answered "No" and 8% said they did not know

Comments

of those who have replied to the poll indicate that many of the "yes" answers are based on "ifs" and other qualifications. A small farmer in Idaho said, "I think the U. S. should control; but they should all get together on it." A mortician in Virginia: "Yes. It's going to come to that if we are to learn real peace. I don't believe in scrapping our own power now." A schoolteacher in Ohio, in favoring the affirmative, wrote: "If I understand this world organization, and it works as it should, we won't need an army only for interior trouble." In the main, the results are a fair indication of the American people's sincere acceptance of and faith in world organization.

Some typical comments on the negative and "don't know" sides were:

"It would mean dictatorship."

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"Won't work. Sheer idealism. You gotta be cruel and practical."

"It isn't practical. No country should be told how forceful an army they should have."

"The resources and not the population should be taken into account when deciding on the size of the army, etc."

"This generation does not raise big families, so you can't have a big army anyway, and besides, no one should dictate to any country."

"They're going to build them as large as they want to anyway; secretly or otherwise."

"Frankly, I don't give a damn, 'cause I think they'll go ahead and do whatever they damn please anyway."

"The U. S. should have the largest. We are dominating power, and more Christian, and more intelligent, and should help other countries by our being the strongest country in every way."

Our NEW Question:

THE next question that will be submitted to Americans throughout the country covers a subject of paramount importance, not only to us but to the whole world. FREE WORLD readers are, as usual, invited to participate in this poll, by mailing in their answers and comments. Here is the question:

Now that the atomic bomb has been developed, do you think it is more likely, or less likely, that there will be future wars?

FREE WORLD, 144 Bleecker Street, New York 12, N. Y.

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SETTING UP THE UNITED NATIONS ORGANIZATION

LONDON CABLE

EXCLUSIVE PICTURES PAGES 9-14

by Mary Seaton

"WHAT do you think of it all?" I asked collarless, perspiring Mr. Michael Bence, cleaner. He was wiping the green upholstered seats in London's House of Commons shortly before the Executive Committee of United Nations Preparatory Commission filed in. He paused, duster poised. "Humanity's last chance, they tells us," he said. "Well, I only hopes they takes it." Then he corrected himself, "I only hopes we all takes it," he added: "No use us leaving everything to the big boys. We got to watch them. And help them. Reckon the League of Nations would never have broken down if ordinary folk everywhere had made them make it work." Mr. Bence is an internationalist. He has a boy serving in Germany and another in Burma. He added "Scratch the top off them and ordinary folk are the same everywhere. They don't want war."

"That's it, mate," added cockney-born George Runham, builder's foreman, who was knocking out blast-proof brickwork in windows and restoring their old peacetime sashes and glass. "We got to prevent war by getting at what causes it," he told me seriously. "We often wonder in here if people walking about outside know how important this here meeting is. I reckon they don't, in spite of the atomic bomb."

Certainly there is relatively little excitement about the commission, especially now, overshadowed as it is by the big five-power conference of the Foreign Ministers which is also being held in London. Yet these fourteen men from America, Australia, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Czechoslovakia, Iran, France, Mexico, the Netherlands, Russia, Britain and Yugoslavia are making preliminary arrangements for the setting up of the United Nations Organization and winding up the League of Nations.

Soon after George Runham's comment they walked in—smiling Stettinius and Philip Noel-Baker, British Minister of State, bald Jan Masaryk of Czechoslovakia, followed later by sleek-headed Doctor Wellington Koo, Andrei Gromyko, Russian Ambassador, and all the others, talking informally. They sat down at an oblong table bearing small notices indicating different nations, while grouped around them were about one hundred journalists.

For about three hours delegates discussed various technicalities involved in deciding how soon the first general meeting of the new organization should take place. Stettinius had previously proved a hustler by urging that the Preparatory Commission should start its work not later than the beginning of November, while the Assembly itself would hold its first session by the end of that month. Gromyko agreed with this, thought that the first session should limit its task to shaping of a permanent world organization and not deal with economic and social problems which could, he felt, be studied at the next meeting of the Assembly. Twenty-one countries had, he pointed out, so far ratified the Charter of the United Nations and by the middle of October there should be more ratifications.

Paul Lasluck of Australia suggested that a longer period would be necessary. With the greatest good will, it would be December before the Assembly could meet, and he said he wanted a maximum rather than a minimum Assembly with every member of the United Nations having ample time and opportunity to place matters on the agenda. Noel-Baker, from his vast experience with the League of Nations, suggested the Assembly should not meet until early in January, if all preliminary business was to be satisfactorily concluded. In the end, the suggestion of Stettinius was accepted, and it was decided that this executive committee should aim at finishing its work by October 15, and that the Preparatory Commis-

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sion should meet as soon as possible thereafter.

DURING the speeches, which were delivered in both French and English, I was impressed by the urgency and agreement between all delegates. Some were long-winded and inevitably of a dull and technical nature, but all present were evidently anxious to get world organization into being as soon as humanly possible. These fourteen men, I felt, were supremely conscious of their international responsibility and significance. They were meeting in the very shadow of the implications of the atomic bomb. Crowding in upon them were all the accumulating problems of the shambled European continent just across the English Channel. Last week Noel-Baker told me, "There is no time to lose, absolutely none, if civilization is to survive." And this was the spirit reflected among all the delegates.

This Executive Committee has yet to work out the details for winding up the League of Nations. Social and economic services of the League, which have been operating during the war, will probably be incorporated into the new United Nations Organization. The aims of its Economic and Social Council are laid down as: higher standards of living, full employment, seeking solutions to all international economic, educational, cultural and kindred problems. It is pledged to: universal respect for and observance of human rights, and fundamental freedom of all without distinction as to race, language or religion.

The Executive Committee will have to determine the relations between the new World Economic Council and UNRRA, the Food and Agricultural Organization set up at Hot Springs, and the Monetary Fund and International Bank agreed on at Bretton Woods. It will also have to decide the relationship of the organization to ILO, the World Trade Union Congress and other international organizations.

There is much speculation about the eventual seat of the United Nations Organization, and I understand that Geneva's claims have some support despite its association in the public's mind with failure. The permanent staff of the old League of Nations and ILO totaled 1,200. It is expected that the new organization will be considerably larger, eventually running into thousands, and it is obvious that the needs of the delegates, observers, experts, pressmen and others require buildings and facilities of a size not easily to be found elsewhere than in Geneva.

The technical subcommittees—ten in number—who are to handle different aspects of the world organization have been appointed. Seven are already meeting. The first concrete action has already been taken in one important field by issuing invitations to nominate candidates to the judicial posts of the International Court of Justice.

The planning for setting up the new organization is essentially of a technical nature and has therefore caused little stir in the British popular press. It involves such details as deciding how the permanent staff will be recruited, whether nationality or efficiency will be considered first, whether appointments are to be made for life or a limited number of years, and how appointees will be paid. The executive committee is even now suffering the difficulties of a staff shortage, inevitable in London at present. As I write, though it has been meeting nearly one month, even the press officer has only just recruited a secretary and assistant and managed to scrounge an up-to-date post-blitz telephone directory.

IT is too early yet to give any definite picture of what the new world organization will be like beyond the general framework laid down at San Francisco. But it is fair to emphasize that there is no serious disagreement between any of the delegates; the only differences of opinion being between respective merits of speed and thoroughness in setting up the first Assembly. Those still fairly new at world organizations are urging speed and those with more experience advise less speed in the interests of greater thoroughness.

If I give a depressing picture of the amount of interest shown so far in Britain in the executive committee's deliberations, it must be remembered that their work, as I have stressed, is largely technical and therefore difficult to make interesting to the general public. But I was struck, both when listening to speeches and when talking earlier with Noel-Baker, by the very live appreciation that all possessed of the great need to keep the public informed and interested.

They know that unless Michael Bence and George Runham understand and support what the new world organization is doing, it may fail. For rulers and governments have yet to prove infallible. Unless all humanity can be induced to think in world terms and cooperate in shaping a new world of peace and shared-prosperity by ousting from rulership those who secretly or outwardly oppose those ideas, civilization may indeed prove doomed.

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Europe's coal famine

by MARTIN EBON

Martin Ebon came to this country in 1938 from Germany, where he was a newspaper and magazine editor in Berlin. He has written feature articles for the "Christian Science Monitor" and other leading American journals. He will be remembered by our readers as the author of the provocative "The Negro Looks at World Peace," which was recently published in these columns.

WRECKED mines, shortage of skilled labor and transportation difficulties have created a coal famine on the European continent which may easily lead to economic and political crises. As matters stand, a more striking object lesson of the importance of one basic commodity in the political-economic life of a whole continent can hardly be found. The links are easy to detect: without coal, full-scale steel production cannot begin; without steel, tools for the construction of much needed manufacturing machinery cannot be supplied; without manufacturing machinery, production of daily necessities of every description is impossible and, above all, millions must remain without employment.

At the same time, the transportation bottlenecks that now hamper European trade and food distribution, cannot be removed without restoration of locomotives and other rolling stock. But railroad equipment, in turn, is based on iron and steel production; coal is needed to manufacture both commodities. And locomotives run on coal.

Now that winter is only a few weeks away, coal will also be needed for fuel in homes throughout Europe. The countries of northwestern Europe are said to need some 60,000,000 tons of coal during the period ending next April. Only about 40,000,000 are estimated to be available, if production in Germany's Ruhr region is not considerably increased. France may produce about 18,000,000; Beligum 9,000,000; the Netherlands 4,000,000 tons of coal.

The end of the war in the Pacific has raised European hopes that United States aid might be enlarged. When Secretary of the Interior Harold L. Ickes suggested recently that America send 8,000,000 tons of coal to Europe, his proposal encountered much opposition in domestic circles. But even 8,000,000 tons would not be sufficient to fill the gap. Nevertheless, Europe's coal famine is not one of those hopeless and overwhelming economic events that are, like an act of nature, removed from remedy by human action.

The action taken so far has centered around the European Coal Organization, founded in London last June. This is, however, not a continent-wide body. The ECO is made up of representatives of the United States, Great Britain, France, Belgium, Greece, Norway, Denmark, Holland, Luxembourg and Turkey, but neither the Soviet Union nor Poland are represented. Czechoslovakia and Yugoslavia have sent observers.

While an organization to deal with the most critical current economic problem of Europe thus exists, the political split between eastern and western Europe has not been bridged, at least in the field of coal supplies. Imports to the countries of northwestern Europe, estimated to amount to 5,000,000 tons through April, 1946, are expected to come from the United States, Great Britain and the Union of South Africa. Four million tons are to come from Germany. This figure may be raised, if Ruhr production increases.

Coal production in Upper Silesia has made remarkable progress under the Polish administration, but it has been outside the considerations of the European Coal Organization, since Poland is not a member of that body. Instead, the Polish government has made use of its newly-gained coal resources to negotiate a number of trade exchange treaties with coal-starved European nations. The most impressive deal, so far, has been the agreement with Sweden, signed by Polish Industry Minister Hilay Minc and Swedish Commerce Minister Gunnar Myrdal late in August. Under this treaty, Poland is to ship 4,000,000 tons of coal and 800,000 tons of coke to Sweden by December 1, 1946, in exchange for iron ore, wood, industrial machinery and a variety of other items.

POLAND has also negotiated shipments of 500,000 tons of coal to Norway, and 830,000 tons to Romania. Negotiations with Denmark were begun this summer and more limited arrangements have been made with a few other nations. These trade agreements are, to a high degree, based on potential Polish coal produc-

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tion. Before the war, production in Upper Silesia reached 200,000 tons daily, or about twice as much as in the whole of pre-war Poland. Coke production was correspondingly high. Fifty-two thousand mine workers were employed in Upper Silesia before the war, as compared to 82,000 in the whole of what was Poland at that time.

Immediately after the Germans retreated from Silesia, Upper Silesian mines produced only 22,000 tons per day. Early in May more than 55,000 tons were being mined. By June, output had risen to 65,000 and has since increased steadily.

The ability of British military authorities in control of the Ruhr to get production in Western Germany going at increased speed, Poland's cooperation and United States aid might still solve Europe's coal problem. What are the chances that these three factors may develop in a way which would remove the dangers inherent in continued coal shortages on the European continent? Let us view them one by one:

1. Production of the Ruhr's coal mines reached only fifteen per cent of normal during the better part of the summer of 1945, although about half of the normal number of 350,000 miners had returned to work. Output thus had been much lower than during previous years, amounting to about one-third of normal production. This Ruhr coal paradox might provide an interesting study of the psychology of production. It shows that you can't mine coal at the point of a bayonet, because it is impossible to have each miner guarded by a soldier. Just how much of the apparent slow-down has been due to conscious or unconscious sabotage is hard to say. Mining is a tough business, and the men engaged in it are skilled laborers doing a dangerous job.

Those responsible for Ruhr production have attempted to counteract factors that may have limited coal output. Rations for Ruhr miners were first raised to 2,800 calories daily, or about twice the amount allocated to Germans generally, and later to 3,400 calories. Other incentives which the miners were used to having in the past, such as special canteens, are now lacking. Military Government has been reluctant to expose itself to the charge of coddling Germans, even though they are miners engaged in a job vital to the countries of liberated Europe. A rise in the Ruhr's coal output can therefore only be gradual, as more miners return to work and new means are found to get the coal out of the ground at a much faster rate than during the summer.

2. There is little chance that Poland can be drawn into the European Coal Organization. Her bargaining position, as long as she stands outside such an international control body, is too favorable to be overlooked by a government such as the one now located in Warsaw. Poland's economy has suffered grievously during the years of nazi occupation and the period of fighting on Polish soil. By bargaining her coal for the products of the Soviet Union, the Scandinavian nations and some southeastern European countries, she will be able to obtain goods which she needs badly.

POLAND'S once outstanding textile industry is only now beginning to recover from wartime dislocation. Her building industry, likewise traditionally important, is slowly being restored. Meanwhile, Poland's Provisional Government sees the road to its country's reconstruction in very simple terms: Polish coal for Swedish ball bearings, Polish coal for Russian cotton, Polish coal for Danish meats, Polish coal for Norwegian herring, or Czechoslovak textiles or perhaps French chemicals.

3. If the United States did not realize its crucial stake in European recovery, it would be easy to disregard the coal shortage that looms this winter. But if the basic policy laid down at the San Francisco Conference and symbolized in the United States' ratification of the Bretton Woods monetary agreement is to become an active factor, no more immediate cause can be found than the prevention of Europe's threatening coal famine.

There are very selfish and two-fisted political and economic reasons which should persuade us to do our utmost to relieve these shortages. Our own reconverted industry can only run at full gear if export markets absorb much of the production energy that went into war materials during the past four years. When the lend-lease administration ended its activities after Japan's surrender, it became very clear that new trade arrangements had to be made.

The enlarged resources of the Export-Import Bank provide us with only a partial answer. The basic facts of economic thinking show that credits given foreign governments through the Export-Import Bank must sooner or later be balanced either in gold or in goods. The gold resources of most European countries have decreased considerably during the war. Europe's gold is required, for the most part, to back weakened currencies. Exports are therefore needed, and only an economy that commands surplus commodities can furnish a sound market for export trade.

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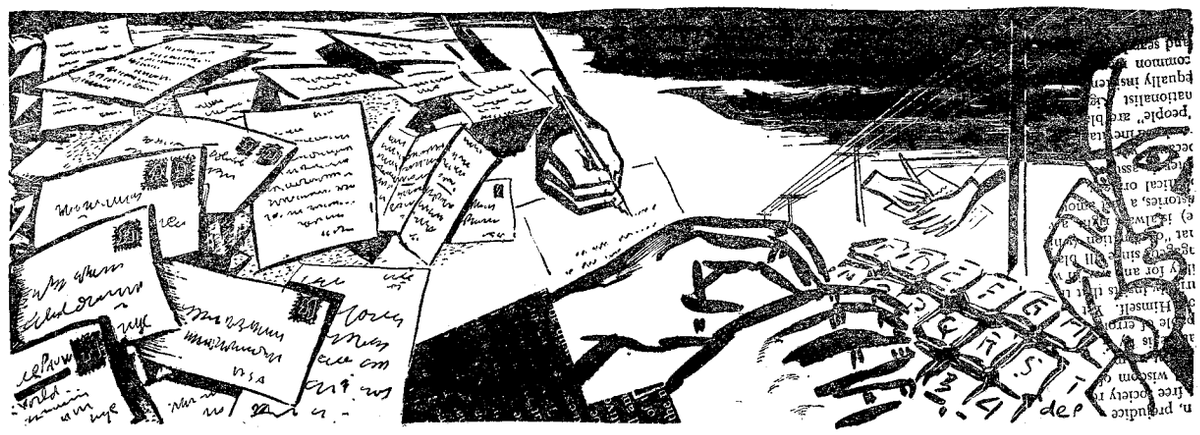

FREE SPEECH

AND LETTERS FROM READERS

Lame Interpretation of Power Politics

While it is good to know various interpretations of conditions and policies, it is very depressing to see, in the August issue of FREE WORLD, an editorial by Norman Angell on "The Charter and Power Politics." It does not seem conceivable that your editorial staff could and would subscribe to such a lame—but dangerous—interpretation of Power Politics.

I would not doubt that Sir Norman mirrors accurately the British frame of mind in that thesis, showing the United Kingdom up to her old tricks, but too afraid of world opinion to admit it, which does not help, but should make us all the more suspicious and put us on our guard to assert our common sense, lest we are willingly silent partners to these machinations. They will inevitably lead not to peace among a contented family of nations, but to that dreaded War of Annihilation by Atoms, unless the others, in fear of it, permit themselves to be subjugated to the will and pleasure of the English.

Sir Norman's attempt at camouflage failed utterly to be convincing. His is a terribly unilateral version, making a side issue of the Balance of Power Policy, instead of ascribing to it its true status as a vital, activated part of Power Politics. Sir Norman must believe us all awfully gullible when he paints Power Politics purely as a somewhat belated move of the British, and of the United States, to nip an anticipated attack of a potential enemy on home territory.

I profoundly agree with Norman Angell when he says—"we must, as a preliminary (to use the United Nations Charter as an instrument of peace), know what we mean by the words and phrases we fling about so casually."

Why, then, spread at this hour such absurd, calculated misinformation about Power Politics? The Balance of Power Policy, as implemented by Power Politics, has been and is a major cause of our wars, and is definitely not a preventive action.

If you should condone more of such articles in the future, you are forfeiting the aspirations of FREE WORLD, and I fervently hope that other protests will reach you and cause a change of mind. You have done wonderful work. Please don't spoil it now by going all out for the disastrous English policy.

Philadelphia. JOHN C. SCHOOP

Norman Angell Answers:

The purpose of FREE WORLD *is to provide a means for the free discussion of world problems. Mr. Schoop would, it seems, exclude from that discussion any view regarded by the editor as "dangerous" —to use Mr. Schoop's word. The exclusion of "dangerous thoughts," although a familiar feature of Japanese and German policy, is not one upon which a free world can be founded.*

The views to which Mr. Schoop objects are not English, any more than they are American, or Russian, or Chinese, or French. They are aspects of the difficult problem of power which must be rationally and tolerantly debated, if ever we are to find a peaceful solution.

Norman Angell

Congratulations

The new format is very attractive. I like your Fourth Anniversary Issue and the piece on page 47 especially—"The Secretariat of the United Nations." This is swell stuff. . . . NORMAN CORWIN

New York.

Children and the War

Allow a mother of three small children to congratulate you on the article and photographs of "The Children Cannot Wait." No article in any women's magazine that I

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have seen points so perfectly to the solution of the problems of the war-hurt children. . . .

The author's recommendations for an attempt to renew mental and emotional security for the growing children of the war are absolutely sound. Some of them are even good advice for well-meaning American parents. But there is one point which might have been made a little more exact. Experiments with large institutions of bombed-out and orphaned children in England have proved that children need more than nurses and teachers in adequate proportion for individual attention. The dazed children in a large institution crave the security of a small, permanent family-size group. When three or four children were regularly assigned to one or two adults to "mother" them they soon regained their emotional stability.

MRS. WILLIAM W. BALLARD
Norwich, Vermont.

Man in Battle

My experience in the army has been a course of study in itself—on a university level—for here, all the elements of human emotion are dealt with, and in combat, the crisis, is the place where a man will reveal what the ordinary luxurious and false life and comfort will cover up. . . .

Bare, and open, he either has "it" or not. And then we ask ourselves, what is "it" in combat? Is "it" unflinching response to an order—to go forward and perhaps die for a hill or town or a machine-gun nest, unaware of the significance of the act, acting as an automaton with no soul, spirit, or mind? Or, seeing "it" as an act toward final freedom—no, not the freedom everyone is talking about in fancy phrases—but toward concrete freedoms. Or is this like after World War I—dressed up—Big Three—San Francisco, etc.?

Is it worth it, to die so, on a battlefield, to accomplish—nothing?

And yet, if there were no hope of advancement in face of this dark outlook (when faced with the possibility of dying) there would be no progress at all.

To FREE WORLD my thanks. Here, in Germany, the magazine is an even greater light of hope for that darkness is even greater here. . . .

ROBERT COHEN
Augsburg, Germany.

The Realities of Life

I am not afraid of anything and I do not worry about myself. I am fighting and working for my ideals and believe that God will help me. My ideal is that all people are individuals and should be treated as such, regardless of their origin, understanding of God, and appearance. That is my faith, ideal and religion. The goal of my life is to do whatever I can to spread that faith among people, so that finally everybody may recognize that truth and unite as citizens of the world and live together in friendship, so that the ideals of peace on earth, good will toward everyone, and brotherhood among men should become the realities in life, thinking and the deeds of men. . . .

The length of life and its happiness do not depend on the amount of time spent on earth, but upon how much good and happiness one has contributed to the lives of other people, and upon how true one has remained to oneself and to that which one sincerely believes.

PVT. JERZYK SPITZER
c/o Postmaster, New York, N. Y.

EDITOR'S NOTE: *Three weeks after he wrote this letter, twenty-two-year-old Jerzyk Spitzer died from combat wounds.*

Is Our Halo On Straight?

Does anyone question the motives and the authenticity of the news commentators and the press? If so, are there any Americans who believe we can build a "just and durable peace" while entertaining vulgar, nauseating delusions as to our national superiority and parading before the rest of the world displaying our halo, thanking God that we are not as other barbarians?

CLAIRE ANDERSON
Portland, Oregon.

"Billet Doux" for MacLeish

Just a "billet doux" to tell you how much I have enjoyed Archibald MacLeish in July FREE WORLD.

I always had the habit of passing up Archibald MacLeish because he seemed to be all book knowledge. Books may be the civilized man's only source of knowledge; to the frontiersman they seem to be second-hand knowledge.

In this article MacLeish dives off his stack of books into deep water, and deals with life as life is; as one who knows life, has seen it and felt it. A. MUSGROVE NORMAN
Fort St. James, Canada.

Our New Format

My hearty congratulations on the new format of FREE WORLD. It reflects imagination, incisiveness and purpose. NORMAN COUSINS
New York.

For an Inward Glance

I don't feel that you see the causes of the next war. The United States is probably the most dangerous country in the world and Russia second. Germany and Japan can't cause a war unless we ask them to—as we did during the 30's. In trying to prevent the next war we had better turn our eyes inward.

CLIFFORD E. LLOYD
Williamson, New York

All Hands Needed

Because the American nation as a whole hasn't known the war first hand, doesn't mean the people are ignorant of its implications. In the same way, the rear echelon soldier can know and feel as strongly as the frontline man the beliefs and ideals for which we fight. . . .

This war, World War II, is part of a larger canvas. It didn't start with Pearl Harbor and it won't end with the treaty of Tokyo. Because a man has not been under enemy fire, he needn't be a mute participant. There will be other battles. LT. ALBERT MILGROM
San Francisco.

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BOOKS

Sixty Million Jobs

A Review of Henry A. Wallace's New Book

by LEO CHERNE

Executive Secretary, Research Institute of America

HENRY WALLACE is almost all of the things his detractors say he is not and very few of the things some of his friends think he is. And *Sixty Million Jobs* is as significant for its revelation of the mind and aspirations of Henry Wallace as it is of the path he projects for America.

In charting the road to full employment by 1950, this is what Wallace does not propose:

He does not advocate the socialization of any existing industry.

He does not propose that government supplant or compete with any activity which any segment of business will actually undertake.

He does not advocate government planning of production, distribution or consumption.

He does not suggest that the controls of war be carried over to peace, nor that the techniques used in war to achieve full production be utilized in peace to produce full employment.

He does not advocate the slightest restraint upon the mobility of men or their property—nor, for that matter, the slightest government compulsion over the physical movement of either.

He does not aggrandize government or the state.

No hint will be found of the capital levy, corporate licensing by the state, the rationalization of industry, nor even of the compensatory spending economists' unconcern over the mounting deficit.

Nor can the roots of his philosophy be found outside of American soil.

Little is the debt he owes to Marx, and none the indebtedness of his proposals.

If this isn't Henry Wallace and these are not his paths to prosperity—what is he?

BASICALLY, Henry Wallace is a capitalist with a very tender conscience and an acute fear of cyclical depressions. Henry Wallace not only wants to retain the economic doctrine under which the fittest survive, but he would intensify the competition. Then the conscience adds: "But no one must get hurt!"—Wallace wants free enterprise without the inexorable application of supply and demand to the human article. He has no prejudice against anyone's wealth—only against anyone's poverty.

And because of that prejudice, he proposes several basic steps—the direction of which has already been incorporated into the Employment Budget Bill before Congress.

A budget of potential employment is the cornerstone in the Wallace program. By determining the probable number of jobs that will be provided by all segments of enterprise in the year ahead, government could determine its responsibility with relation to that period. In a period of projected prosperity and full employment, government would tax high, raise interest rates, balance the budget and pay off a portion of the debt besides. However, when unemployment threatens to rise beyond the two million mark, the government would act.

The course of action projected by Henry Wallace involves the stimulation of all private business. The hypodermic would consist of lower taxes, incentives for investment and expansion, lowered interest rates and government guaranteed business loans, price floors under agricultural commodities and the financing of expanded foreign trade. At the same moment, every effort would be made to sustain the consumer's buying power through wage minimums, expanded social security, the dropping of most levies on consumption and lightened taxes, particularly on the low income groups.

To the extent—and only to the extent—that these are not expected to be sufficient to halt the disemployment, the government would enter as a prime mover. Henry Wallace details the variety of public works which the government should have blueprinted and ready to roll for such an emergency.

The "backlog of abundance," to which Secretary Wallace points includes a number of TVA's throughout the land, millions of low-cost homes, airports for the new age of sky travel, roads, schools, hospitals, rural electrification. The one large omission which Wallace would now undoubtedly rectify might be further atomic and nuclear research of a magnitude comparable to that which produced the bomb—but harnessed instead to health and productive energy.

Henry Wallace is a bolder and more confident privateer than Bernard Baruch. Baruch has said in essence: "The next five years will, with slight transitional disturbances, be boom years. There is enough deferred demand to assure that lift. But woe after that!" Wallace says he has an antidote.

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A PLATONIC dialogue would reveal Henry Wallace saying to Baruch: "Barney, your acceptance of the temporary nature of capitalist prosperity is resignation to the end of capitalism. Mass unemployment and poverty have brought fascism, nazism, communism and falangism. No people will long endure any political or economic system which periodically displaces a greater number of people for greater periods of time."

Baruch then deftly replies: "But the cost of your panacea would produce the same ills you pretend you're curing."

"On the contrary, democracy will survive and expand only so long as the people are given the opportunity to live with dignity, only so long as business remains competitive and expansive, and only so long as the living standards of the people grow."

Baruch counters: "True, but only so long, too, as government remains solvent and the debt manageable and business confidence exists."

"Now I think I've got you," says Wallace. "If there's any way of ever balancing our government budget and paying off the debt, it's by reaching a national income level of $200 billions and never dropping below that. There is no more costly nor budget-destroying device than depression. And remember, under my program the first aim of government activity will be to stimulate business; only if that's insufficient will government itself spend more than it receives. Some of the spending, incidentally, will be on self-liquidating projects."

Baruch answers: "No, Henry, you haven't got me. You've impaled yourself on your dreams. You know as well as I that neither our tax policy nor tax machinery is geared to rapid changes of economic direction. You'll have to admit that Congress' first concern will always have to be 'revenue' and political effect, not economic result. You know that the government means to produce inflation or deflation are little more than whistles against the wind. You know that the clumsiness of government devices may result in your taking action designed to deflate a boom after the boom has passed—or more realistically, may unseat business confidence precisely when you need it. And most important—since when has pure spending brought employment? It's from your own economists I've learned that the expansion you undertake has to be in the right place for the right thing at the right time. Just pumping billions in for public works will not create full employment unless you're secretly planning to blueprint a lot more than public works themselves."

"When I'm as old as you, Barney, we'll have found the answers to those questions. But in the meantime, do you know of another method which avoids the planned direction of enterprise, retains competitive business and promises to avoid mass unemployment?"

SIXTY MILLION JOBS, by Henry A. Wallace. Simon & Schuster and Reynal & Hitchcock. Paper, $1.00, 83 pp. Cloth, $2.00, 224 pp.

This Side of Utopia

THE SPRINGFIELD PLAN, A Photographic Record. By Alexander Alland and James Waterman Wise. Viking. 137 pp. $2.50

They have done a fine, simple and good thing in Springfield, Massachusetts. It started when Dr. John Granrud, Springfield's Superintendent of Schools, began to translate into reality his belief that "our public schools can do far more than they have in the past to develop democratic attitudes and to eradicate the prejudices and biases which undermine the very cornerstone of our national life."

This book describes how Dr. Granrud, during the past ten years, developed a teaching staff of the same varied national backgrounds and religious affiliations as those of the children in the community. It also shows in words and photographs how children, adolescents and adults in Springfield have been able to learn more about one another after Granrud had initiated the Committee on Education for Democracy.

There is nothing fancy about this book, just as there is nothing fancy about the things they have done in Springfield. After all, common sense and good will were all that were needed—just those two major ingredients, and a few books, talks, exhibitions, songs and pictures.

James Waterman Wise says, in his introduction, that "each American state, city and town must meet the challenge of democratic citizenship in its own way and in terms of its own potential." Nevertheless, the facts portrayed in this book make up a simple recipe that could be used, with appropriate changes, practically anywhere. Springfield had no monopoly on civic problems; but, surely, it also does not have a monopoly on civic virtue.

Wise says that "Springfield is still not only this side of Utopia—it is still this side of the Springfield which its best citizens strive to build." But the strides Springfield has made are long enough for other communities to notice. There is much in this slender volume that might well inspire men and women of good will elsewhere. I think, in particular, of the many civic groups that have developed during the war to help defeat the enemy abroad.

A few newspapers have reported what has happened in Springfield, and in putting these accomplishments into permanent form the publishers have aided those who are considering similar projects. Local women's clubs, chambers of commerce, religious groups, business men's organizations or school fraternities can originate plans similar to that of Springfield—it doesn't have to start with the superintendent of schools. Clergymen might start the ball rolling, or the owner of the local department store, the university or hospital trustees. Whoever they are, anywhere, they will find in this volume a brief and practical guide to the creation of better understanding.

MARTIN EBON

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BOOKS OF A FREE WORLD
FOR FREE WORLD READERS

Ourselves, Inc.

THE STORY OF CONSUMER FREE ENTERPRISE

By LEO R. WARD

A vivid, personalized story of visits among typical families of the 3,000,000 members of the consumer cooperatives, which dramatizes the human values of this growing movement. ". . . immensely concrete, immediate, real. . . . His book is strong documentation of his faith—a book at once entertaining, extraordinarily informing and heartening."—*Chicago Tribune.* "So convinced that it is convincing, the book is as lively as the subject."—*New York Herald Tribune.* $2.50

Private Monopoly

THE ENEMY AT HOME

By DAVID LASSER

How monopoly at home and abroad presents a tremendous challenge to all lovers of democracy is the theme of this provocative book. With helpful suggestions as to how monopolistic forces and agencies can be democratized, the author strikes a bold blow at the dangers of impending economic war. "Lasser has done a remarkable job in surveying the operations of monopolies and their known and potential harmful effects. It appears to me that the coverage of the subject is excellent and was made possible only by careful and extensive research."—CLINTON S. GOLDEN, *Vice Chairman, War Manpower Commission.* $3.00

Freedom's People

HOW WE QUALIFY FOR A DEMOCRATIC SOCIETY

By BONARO W. OVERSTREET

Filled with vivid slants on all sorts of people encountered here and there in a busy life, the author answers the question: How can our normal conduct and day-to-day human relations give evidence of our own democratic motives, manners and outlook? Here is practical and inspiring counsel which with witty penetration holds the mirror up to human nature in the interest of basic good citizenship. ". . . the value of this book is that it is a gentle reminder to most of us that we are not released from any responsibilities as democratic persons simply by applauding politely the copybook slogans of professional liberals."—*Saturday Review of Literature.* "This book will be read and enjoyed by a good many Americans. It will help them to live a better America."—*PM.* $2.00

American Labor Unions

WHAT THEY ARE AND HOW THEY WORK

By FLORENCE PETERSON

Director, Industrial Relations Division, Bureau of Labor Statistics, U. S. Department of Labor

Here for the first time in some years is an informing and impartial introduction to what A. F. of L. C.I.O. and many other initials and references mean in terms of human activities, interests and aspirations. It fills a long-felt need for a popular but comprehensive statement of how labor organizations operate in this country. "It is encyclopedic in its detail and will be exceedingly important . . . I should like an opportunity of referring it to my committee so that our union libraries, at least, can have copies and our union officers can have it brought to their attention." MARK STARR, *Educational Director, I.L.G.W.U.* $3.00

Big Government

CAN WE CONTROL IT?

By MERLO J. PUSEY

Editorial Writer, Washington (D. C.) Post

President Truman's request for Congressional action on the reorganization of Federal Big Business as discussed in this book, suggests its urgent interest and timely value. "Mr. Pusey has presented the most pressing problem of our day in clear and understandable terms."—*Washington Star.* $2.50

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Isabel de Palencia

author of *I Must Have Liberty*, tells the dramatic story of the Spanish Republicans in exile and their fight to keep the spirit of Spanish democracy alive.

SMOULDERING FREEDOM

"Isabel de Palencia, except for former Premier Negrin himself, is perhaps the best-known Spanish refugee in America and has sallied forth from her Mexican home a dozen times to plead the cause of Spain in America. Her new book is well-timed, reminding us at the hour of victory over German and Japanese Fascism that a dictator, who gained complete power in 1939 through democratic indifference, still mars the surface of a peaceful world.

"*Smouldering Freedom* is a healthy manifestation of how deeply democracy had won its way into the Spanish people in the few short years Republican Spain had. It's also a stern reminder of the unfinished war against Fascism — as the Spanish version spreads out through our entire hemisphere through the Falange."

—Ralph Peterson,
Chicago Sun Book Week

At all bookstores • $3.00

LONGMANS, GREEN & COMPANY
New York **Toronto**

Arrogant Still

THE GERMAN TALKS BACK, by Heinrich Hauser. Henry Holt. 215 *pp.* $2.50

Quite recently the United States Military Government disclosed that the vicious nazi system of having block, street and house leaders who "victimized and tyrannized the public" had been revived in Berlin—not by the nazi Underground, mind you, but by anti-nazis who protested that they were acting in the interests of "democracy."

This news is grist to the mills of Lord Vansittart who assures us that there exists no "Other Germany." So is the present book by 43-year-old Heinrich Hauser who is descended from Prussian Junkers. He studied medicine, served both in the Imperial and the Republican Army, and travelled all over the world in cargo steamers. He wrote successful novels as well as books on German industry for the German branch of General Motors, and, after his voluntary departure from Germany (1939) several volumes purporting to be anti-nazi. After having been on the editorial staff of the vigorously democratic *Frankfurter Zeitung*, Hauser joined *Die Tat* (Action), a magazine close to the old Reichswehr, with strong militaristic, nationalistic and pseudo-socialistic tendencies. Originally he worked for a reconciliation between the nationalist intelligentsia and the Hitlerites. "We, the so-called intellectuals of Germany," he wrote in his autobiography, *Time Was,* "hoped in those days that we could bring the nazis over to our side."

Twelve years after that ill-fated honeymoon Hauser joined other frustrated ex-nazis or ex-half-nazis, like Strasser, Rauschning, Pastor Niemoeller and Bishop Galen, endeavoring to sell to the Americans the notion that they must not expect Germany ever to become a democracy of the Western type. The publishers, realizing that his book would shock most American readers, defend its issuance by claiming that the volume would help them understand "why they (the Germans) think they were right and why a great many of them, possibly the majority, are totally unwilling to accept our interpretation of themselves, of what is right, or of recent history."

This "Notice to the Reader," furnished by the publishers, and the introduction and footnotes, supplied by the historian, Hans J. Morgenthau of the University of Chicago, are designed to prevent the naive reader from accepting Hauser's wild statements at their face value. For instance, Hauser ascribes the success of both communism and nazism in Germany to the fact that the Germans loathe Western, and in particular, American civilization which was forced upon them. Was it? Or didn't the Berliners eagerly invite everything American, from jazz bands down to chewing gum? He criticizes harshly everything American — Hollywood and the American tourists in Europe no less than American education and politics, but his method of debunking American democracy is as insincere as it is old: he makes the fullest use of the inevitable

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gap between democratic pretensions and democratic reality. He would find fault with any except an Utopian America.

He is infinitely more indulgent towards Germany, despite his reiterated assertion: "I am not trying to whitewash . . ." By means of a strange sort of mathematics he computes that fewer wars were started by the Germans than by any other nation. He subtly implies that the "real goal" of the Kaiser's armies was not to smash France, but to smash *through* France in order to conquer more Lebensraum in Africa and elsewhere, and that again in 1939 the Hitlerites did not want war with the West, but the conquest of the Ukraine, "a granary big enough to house and feed a hundred million people." Hauser doesn't stop for a moment to think whether it is fair to grab any piece of land one desires, without asking the natives' opinion, nor does it occur to him that a re-distribution of Germany's vast Eastern latifundia—as it is now being started by the Russians—might have solved Germany's Lebensraum headache.

Hauser revives the fear of the bolshevist bogey, warning the Western Allies that, unless we forgive and forget, all of Germany would go communist lock, stock, and barrel because of an alleged affinity of nazi and communist philosophy.

Instead of outrightly condemning the atrocities committed by Hitler's Germany, he tries to explain and, implicitly, defend them by presenting them as a modern outgrowth of medieval "Satanism"—thus being abnormal, the perpetrators of the crimes cannot be made to account for them. Remembering Jesus' admonition to the pharisees and scribes "He that is without sin among you, let him first cast a stone at her," he exclaims, hypocritically, "Our sin is not greater than yours; it is merely later."

Not only does he claim that the German masses were completely unaware of whatever crimes were committed by the Reich, he even has the nerve to place the bombing of the Moehne Dam by Allied bombers in the same category with the murders committed at Maidanek, Dachau and Buchenwald. Consequently he argues that, since according to Hauser's own estimate—forty times more Allied bombs were rained on Germany than German bombs were rained on England, Germany had atoned sufficiently for whatever mistakes she had made and should, henceforth, be left alone.

The German who thus talks back also intends to go back to Germany. It is in this way that he distinguishes himself from Fritz Kuhn, the jailed Bund leader who hates the idea of being deported to Germany. Hauser's book is most valuable to us insofar as it shows that even a brilliant German writer who claims to be an anti-nazi and who had plenty of time to study the philosophy of American democracy, still holds that only race and geography determine the fate of the nations, still sells us the Lebensraum and Red Peril slogans. For this reason, *The German Talks Back* is must-reading for all who believe that the re-education of Germany will be a comparatively easy task.

ALFRED WERNER

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SMOULDERING FREEDOM, by Isabel de Palencia. Longmans, Green. 264 *pages.* $3.00

Isabel de Palencia, noted protagonist of female rights, fervent Republican, active member of the Socialist Party and, as minister to Sweden and Finland, was the first woman to represent her country abroad.

In her fine, new book she tells the poignant story of the Spanish Republicans-in-exile, and the tragic adventures of her compatriots who survived the holocaust of Civil War and World War II.

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The Spanish emigration, we learn with some dismay, drove nearer and nearer to the danger point which has become the grave of so many political emigrations before—wherein a great and sincere cause is destroyed by factional strife and individual quarrels. The most recent events, especially the failure of the exiled politicians to form an all-embracing coalition government, clearly indicate that the danger has by no means been overcome.

FRITZ KAUFMANN

The Facts We Need

DILEMMA IN JAPAN, by Andrew Roth. Little Brown. 291 *pp.* $2.50

ANDREW ROTH has written the most practical of the scores of books on what to do with Japan. Its value, too, lies in its appearance at the time when our great experiment in Japan is under way. Instead of mouthing high-sounding theories for creating a democratic and peaceful Japan, the author sets down sound rules.

Dilemma In Japan is exciting reading, packed full of background which we Americans must possess to win the peace in Japan, and it stands the test of history made since its preparation. Despite the atomic bomb, Russia's entry into the war, the Emperor's surrender, and the American occupation, Mr. Roth's diagnosis still fits the patient.

The author's formula is not far different from that of Potsdam and the MacArthur procedure in Japan. However, he warns against the temptation to build "a new Japan on a narrow basis—ignoring the peasant and labor leaders." He wants the great industrial houses stripped of their power wherein they control 62 per cent of the financial, industrial

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and commercial wealth of Japan. He wants the hold of the aristocrats and bureaucrats broken.

After the Emperor's surrender and the demobilization of the armed forces, Roth recommends that "every attempt should be made to chip away at the (Emperor) institution itself. The rate of chipping and the weight of the blows should be keyed to the rate at which the Japanese people develop a critical attitude."

Abdication of the Emperor should be our aim, while bringing home to democratic Japanese his onus in declaring war, and in the final defeat. "If and when it will contribute to the disillusionment of the Japanese people with the throne, we should try him as a war criminal."

There is valuable source material in Roth's description of Japan's political parties, peasant organizations, and organized labor movements. He makes clear that all of them in the past have dared unsuccessful revolt against the militarists who stifled both the Emperor and representative government.

Andrew Roth attacks the exponents of maintaining "order" and "stability" as harboring a dangerous illusion, "for the old order is basically unstable." And finally, with optimism, the author sees in Japan's recent history "a core of conscious democrats and genuine anti-militarists among small businessmen, among professionals opposed to militarism and favoring democracy, among industrial laborers, and among peasants interested in escaping semi-feudal and parasitic landlords." JOHN GOETTE

On Mountain Climbing

THE WHITE TOWER, by James Ramsey Ullman. Lippincott, 479 pp. $3.00

If there is in world literature a more exciting, a more honest, a more dramatic fictional account of the conquest of a mountain I have never read it. In this respect Mr. Ullman's novel is a rare and superb achievement.

On the other hand the author fails in his attempt to present us with a "novel of ideas," as the jacket of the book promises. Ullman's intimate knowledge of everything related to mountain climbing, his unusual gift of making the reader share his experiences, and his descriptive and narrative power outweigh by far his shortcomings when he sets out "to explore the depths and heights that are the spiritual quests of humankind."

The story starts with a coincidence which is utterly unbelievable. An American Air Force captain parachutes from his bomber, crippled during a raid over Germany, and lands, of all places, in the little Swiss village of Kandermatt. It was in this village where Captain Martin Ordway had spent his vacation before the war. But coincidence achieves still more: In spite of the twelve years that have passed since Martin's last visit to Kandermatt, and in spite of all that has happened in the world in the meantime, Martin finds in this village not only the English geologist Radcliffe and the Swiss guide Denner, old residents of Kandermatt, but also the Austrian girl Carla, who had spent a summer vacation there at the time of Martin's visit and who is back again when Martin parachutes into the valley. Carla has been married in the meantime, has run away from her Viennese husband after realizing that he had become a nazi, and the reunion with Martin, the friend of her youth, provides the "love interest" of the novel.

A French writer, decadent and frustrated, and a nazi officer on leave complete the set of main characters who have each and all of them only one desire, one aim: to climb to the top of the White Tower. None who tried the ascent of this mountain had ever succeeded, and so presently the six people start on the expedition.

The six characters are supposed to represent six different nations, six different philosophies of life. And here lies the basic reason for Ullman's failure. Instead of creating human beings he creates "symbols." The soliloquies—and they excel in soul-searching and self-analysis—deal with war and peace, present and past, life and death, but don't help at all in making the characters real and alive. The mountain, on the other hand, becomes a wonderful, frightening, marvelous reality. The mountain lives. The reader experiences all the hardships, the struggle, the fears and triumphs of the climbers, as if he himself were actually taking part in this adventure. The last hundred pages are breathtaking in their suspense. LEO LANIA

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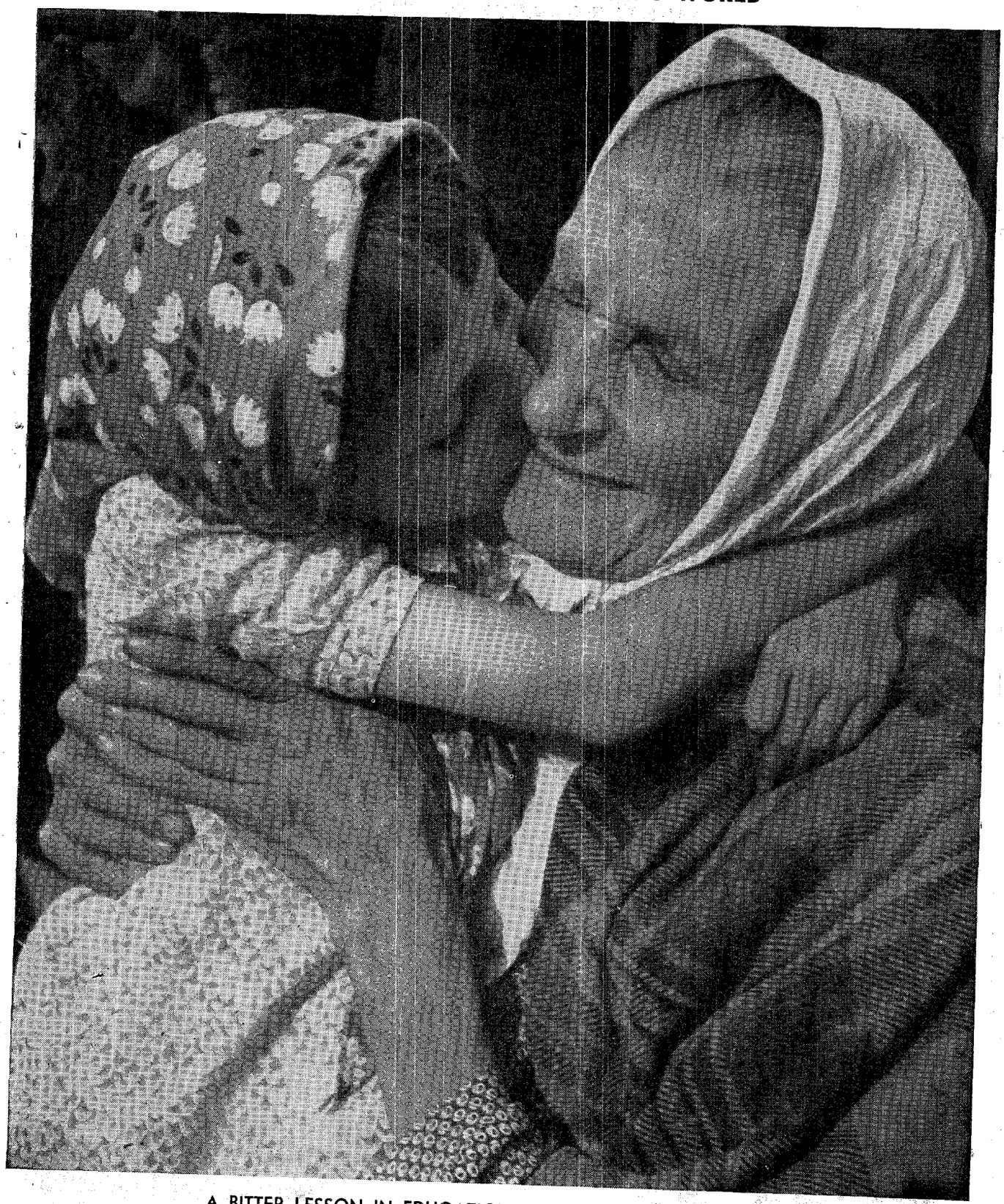
YOUTH FACING THE PROBLEMS

OF TODAY'S AND TOMORROW'S WORLD



A BITTER LESSON IN EDUCATION—WITH A HAPPY ENDING

This little girl, who after many years of suffering and wandering through many European countries finally met her grandmother in a refugee camp in Iran, knows by bitter experience that a divided and fighting world should no longer exist. There are millions of children like her—give them books and the right education and they will become the builders of tomorrow's better world. See following pages for what American youth is doing.

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YOUTH HOLDS ITS OWN CONFERENCE

PHOTOS BY LUCIEN AIGNER

OUT in San Francisco, the youngsters of Roosevelt Junior High School recently staged their own United Nations Conference. Meeting in a large classroom, decorated to represent the Peace Conference of the United Nations, a group of selected pupils, who had given extensive study to the Conference that had been held in their own city, discussed and drew up plans for the future of the world.

The Big Five "delegates" selected from the group sat around a long conference table. In the room were miniature models of villages "before and after," i.e., destroyed by war and then reconstructed by the people in accordance with the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals. There were colorful posters and statistics, illustrating different aspects of war and peace. There were questions on the blackboard, which the "delegates" had to answer. The backdrop with its four Greek pillars, represented the Four Freedoms.

This unusual classroom scene was an expression of the effort youth is making to clear up the mess, created by their elders, by taking matters into their own hands, and to build a real peace according to their own methods. The delegates wore sweatshirts and sweaters instead of solemn, dark suits, somber tails and striped pants; they paid perhaps a little less attention to accuracy in reproducing authentic international color than to unrestricted expression of bold ideas. Their beliefs and their convictions, their views and their confusions were as varied. The ideas

(Continued on page 102)

Inspired by the great historical event they were witnessing in their own city, teachers and students of the San Francisco Junior High School started an interesting experiment in education for world understanding. A group, almost as mixed as the members of the United Nations—created their own "peace conference." As the faces of the listeners prove—they were deeply interested.

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Children act as representatives of various countries: England's "delegate" wears a striped shirt instead of dark suit or striped pants—but he is no less concerned with the problems of the country for which he speaks than a "real" delegate. Russia's "delegate" (the girl at right) seems to be skeptical and unconvinced.

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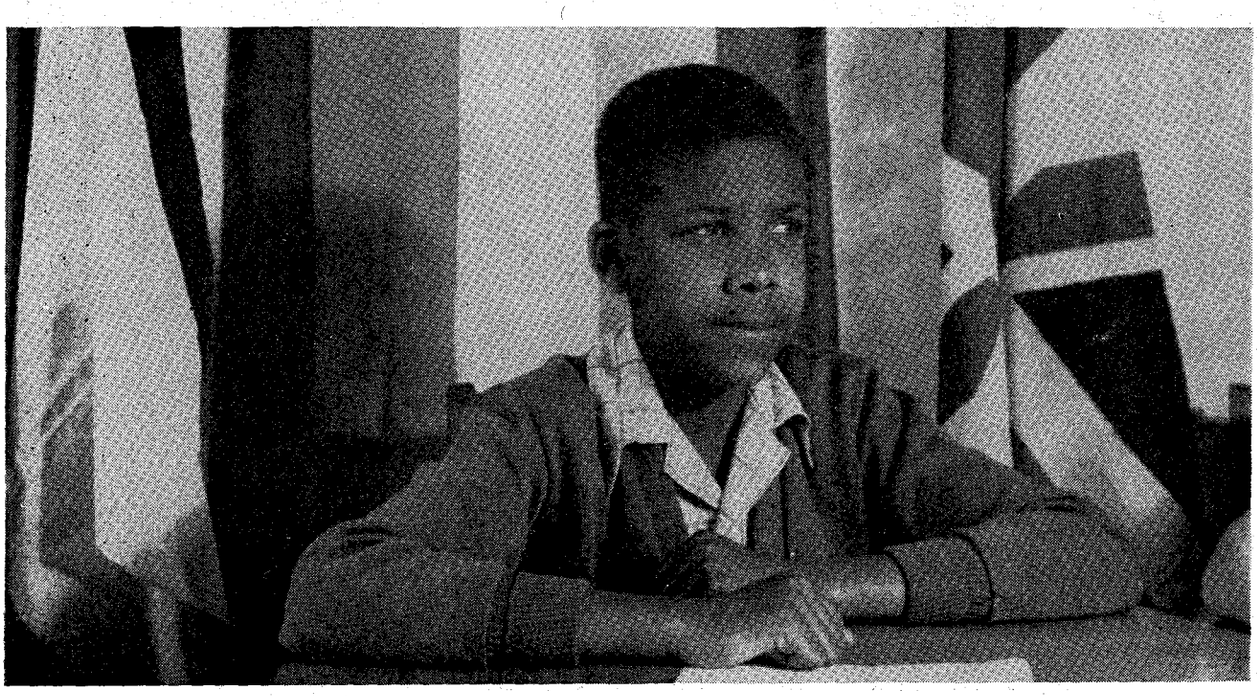
Here the girl, who speaks for Russia, makes some serious points. She reminds the attentive class of the disaster that mutual distrust may engender.

This girl was at the beginning France's representative. But she was later—according to wishes of the class—replaced by a colored boy.



The boy who became the speaker for France. The class thought it was a good democratic idea to make him a delegate. "Because," as someone suggested, "France had had at times Negroes in its government as representatives of its colonies. Why shouldn't we try it too?"

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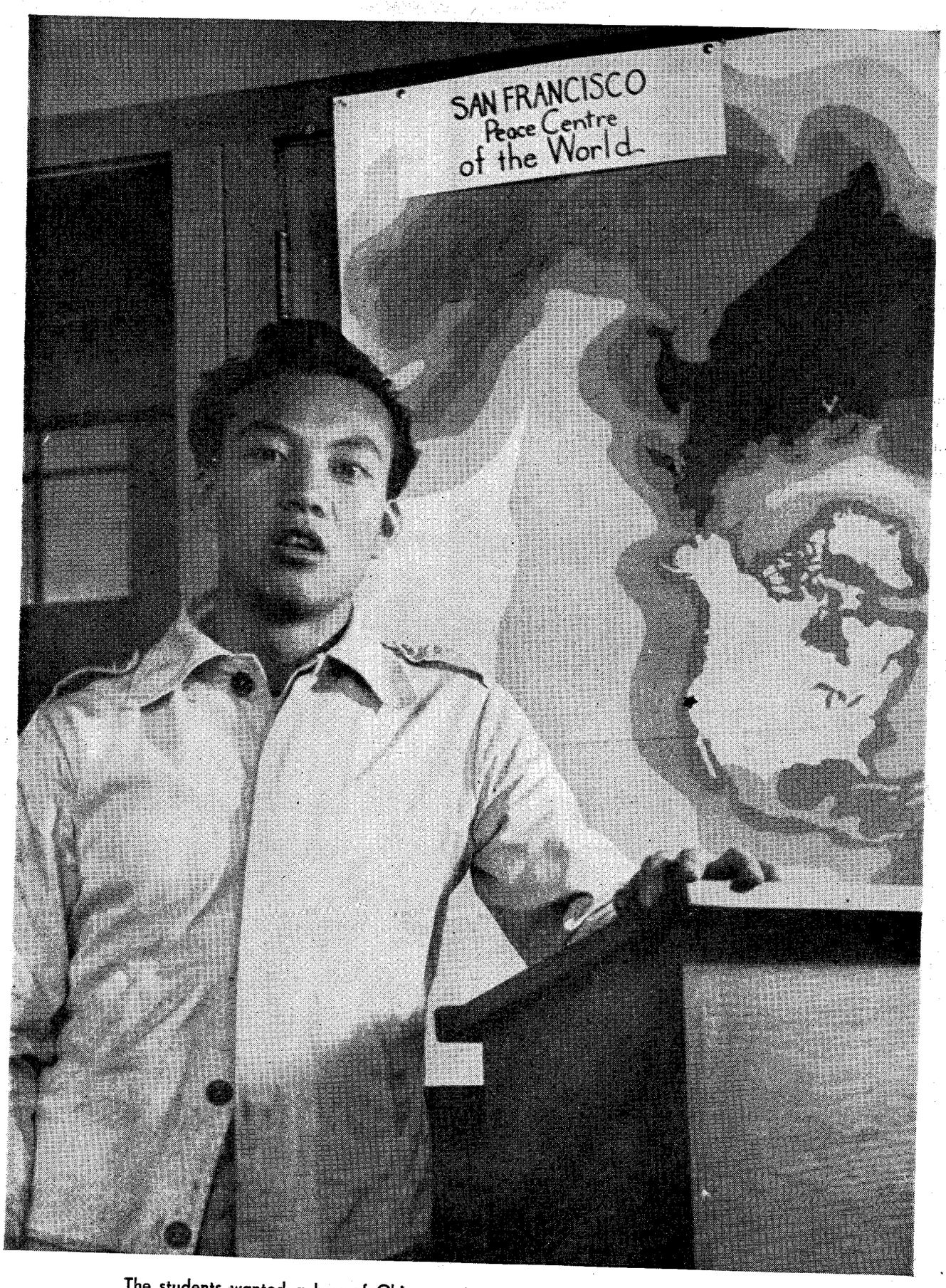

The students wanted a boy of Chinese origin to stand up for China. Sammy Lum spoke his own mind, he spoke of the Chinese people and had plenty to say. The class was quiet when he had finished. Quiet but thoughtful, ready for the discussion to come.

Photos by Lucien Aigner—Monkmeyer

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(Continued from page 98)

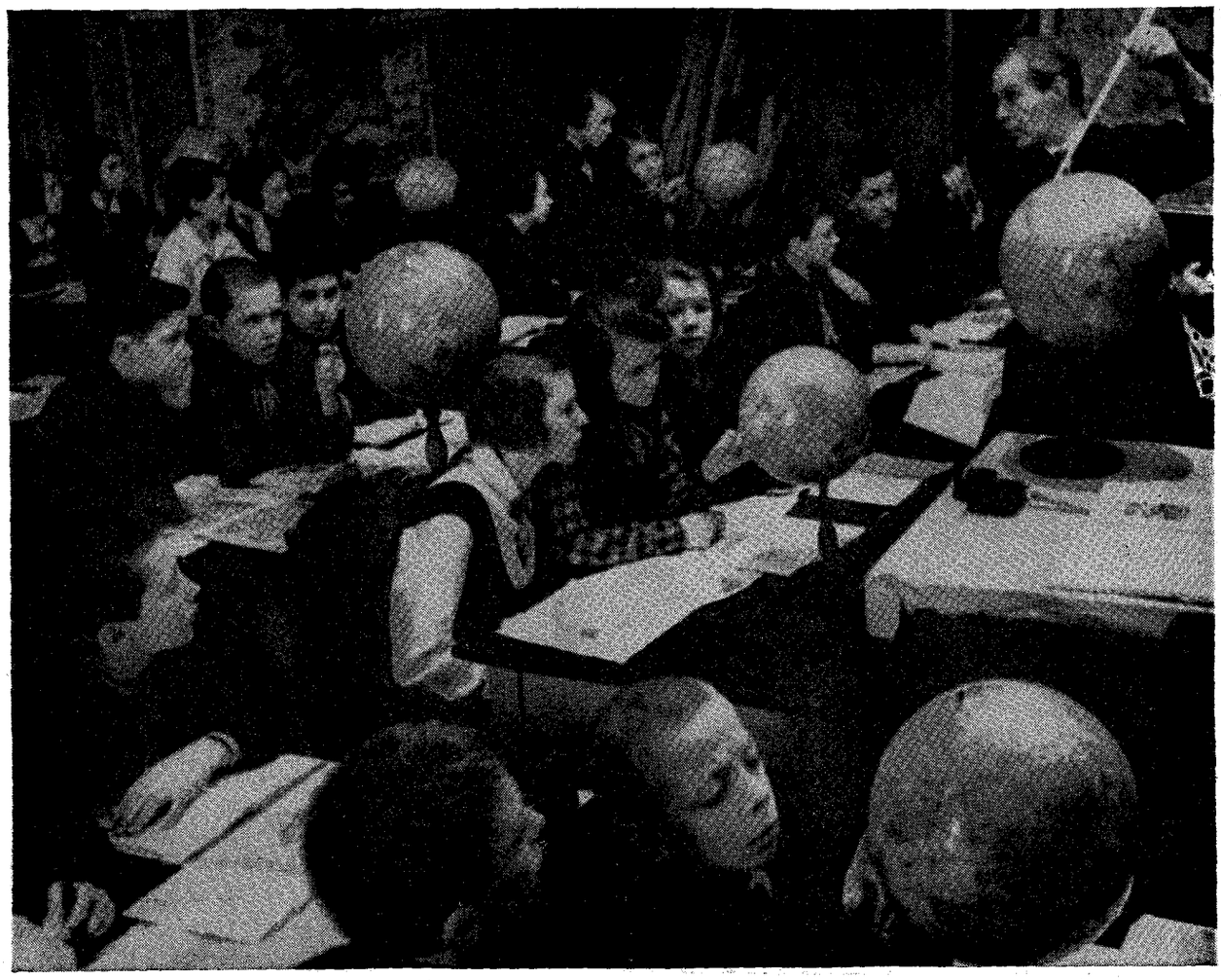
were sometimes as rich in contradictions, but they were pronounced courageously and without fear. Their national and racial backgrounds were perhaps not as varied as were those of the UNCIO delegates. There were enough nationalities, races and colors represented in this cross section of race conscious San Francisco to make this Peace Conference, however, a real international affair.

The determination of the boys and girls to face the problems, to recognize the issues for what they are, instead of hiding them behind high-sounding phrases and complicated treaty articles, was highly refreshing. One could but rejoice in this eagerness to accept responsibility, instead of avoiding and dodging it.

There were endless discussions centering around the Dumbarton Oaks Proposals, Bretton Woods, etc., but the group, with its deep insight, somehow always seemed to return to the basic issues that finally determine the success or failure of any peace. They seemed to agree that there is no easy way out of the present hole, no sitting back and no letting the other fellow fight and work it out alone. They realize that they are all in on it and that it will be a success or failure according to the extent that they are willing to accept their share of sacrifice and responsibility.

What does all this mean? Is the new generation preparing itself for a better future than we have known? Do they know better how to remake the world? How to resettle displaced populations? How to attack the problem of re-education? How to rewrite the treaties and revamp the maps of the world?

They *want* to know. They are willing to learn. They are willing to struggle and sacrifice, and, perhaps, there is a little less selfishness, a little more realism and, at the same time, a little more idealism in them. They know what makes the wheels go round, and they know that countries and people cannot work with dreams alone; they also know that dreams are necessary to start and to help us to carry the burden; dreams and faith.



Education on a global scale is still rare but not isolated. This picture, showing a Russian school class studying geography on globes may indicate the trend of future one-world teaching. Isolated, multi-colored maps have perhaps more than anything else contributed to looking at countries as isolated independent areas—instead of strengthening the understanding of world-oneness. *Sovfoto.*

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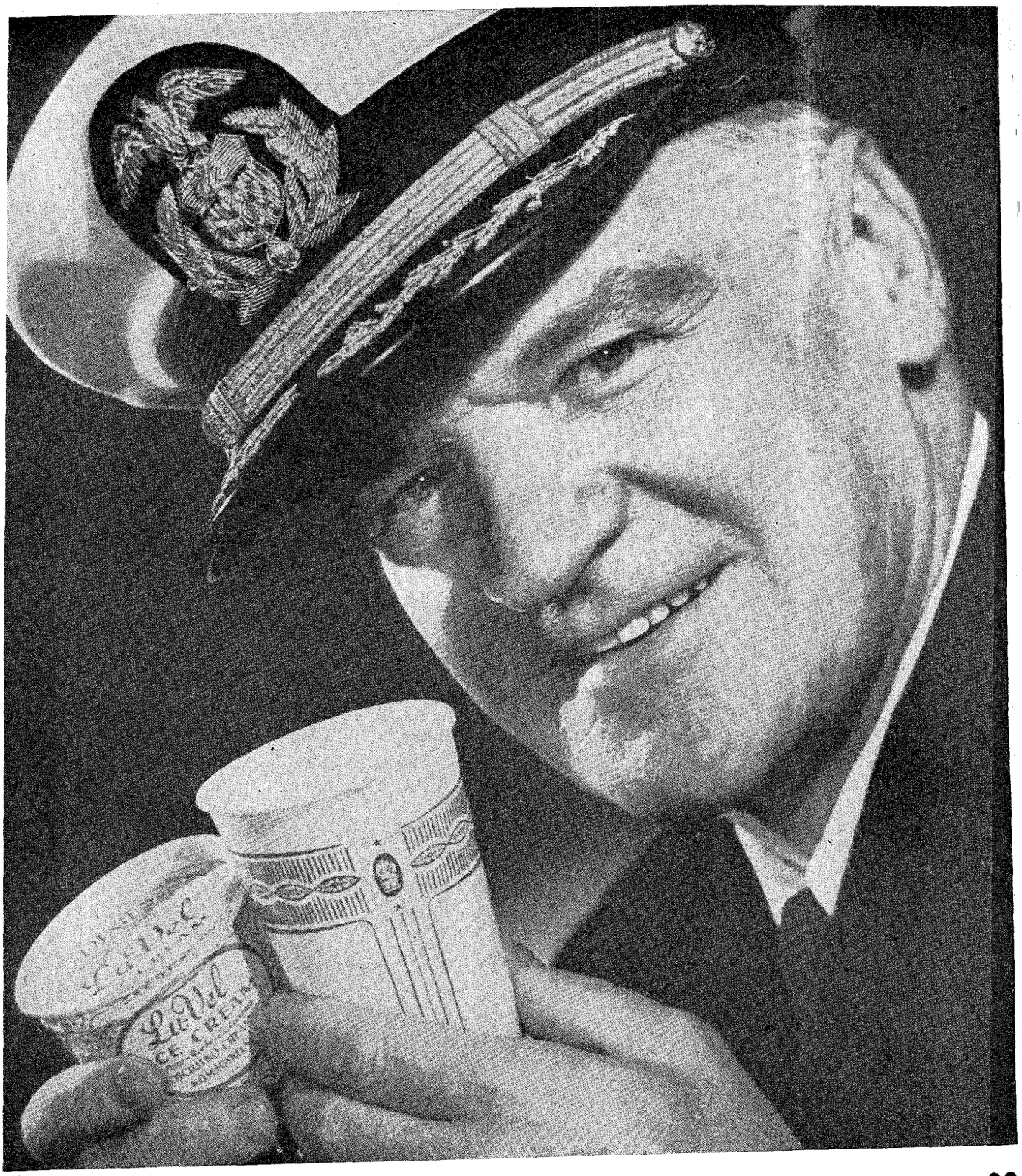

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